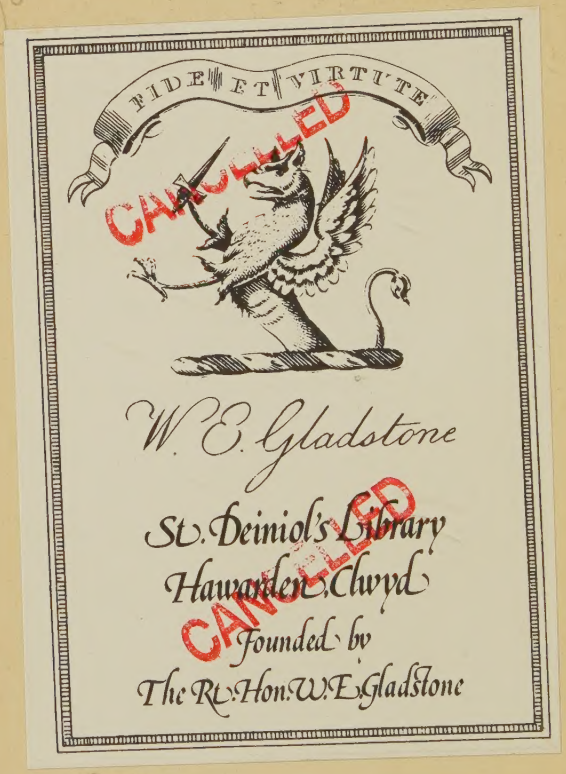

B
49
48

B 53
e. 15

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY,
HAWARDEN.
CANCELLED

93.

B
316

THE FOURTH GOSPEL

HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND

MEMOIR AND LETTERS
EDITED BY STEPHEN PAGET
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS 16*s.* NET

"If only for the letters, the Life was well worth doing, but Mr. Paget's work is that of the born biographer."—*Christian World.*

"Mr. Stephen Paget is an ideal biographer for Scott Holland. The work could not have been done better."—*Daily Telegraph.*

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

CANCELLED

THE FOURTH GOSPEL

BY THE REV. HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, D.D.
LATE REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

EDITED BY THE REV. WILFRID J. RICHMOND
HON. CANON OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1923

923

Printed in Great Britain by
Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ld., London and Aylesbury.

PREFACE

THE friends of the late Henry Scott Holland have always felt that the intellectual world did not take him seriously enough. No doubt he did not write as if he were using the apparatus of the learned world. He did not compile long notes. He was accused of being rhetorical. And this accusation was quite true if it meant that, rightly or wrongly, he chose to be a speaker who spoke to move, and enlighten his hearers; and he wrote as if he were speaking, rather than as a student writing for other students. Nevertheless, no man of his generation had a more penetrating intellect. No man more quickly got to the heart of an intellectual position or movement or book. No man's judgment on an intellectual situation was surer. And, in particular, it seemed to us that on the subject of the Fourth Gospel no man had so much to say that was true and needed saying. On this subject, at any rate, we trusted that he would produce a book such as the critical world could not ignore. He died, however, and we were left with fragments which, under Canon Richmond's editing, were produced in *The Philosophy of Faith and the Fourth Gospel*, i.e. as the second part of a composite work.

No doubt this was a mistake. At any rate, in effect, the introductions to the Fourth Gospel received singularly little attention. But there has been one notable exception. Dr. Armitage Robinson, the Dean of Wells, whom everyone would recognize as among our greatest scholars, and who holds a singularly independent position in the intellectual world, in a lecture given in Manchester Cathedral in the spring of last year on *The Present Value of the Fourth Gospel*[1] spoke of the two essays here reprinted as follows:

"Dr. Holland had devoted many years of his life to the study of the Fourth Gospel, and we had hoped that he would have been spared to bring out a great book on the subject. We have only the fragments of the work which he had planned, but *I am confident that these two essays will be found to offer the most important contribution of recent times to the discussion of the Johannine authorship.* I could wish that they might be reprinted separately in a cheap and popular form. *I cannot but feel that he has made it plain either that St. John the Apostle is the actual author, or at any rate that his memories, collected and guaranteed for us by one of his disciples, lie behind the book and render it an historical document of the first importance.*"

This publication responds to this notable appeal—in the hope that many more of those interested in the question of the authorship and authority of the Fourth Gospel than have done so hitherto will study the penetrating judgments which these essays contain.

[1] See the *Guardian*, May 19 and 26, 1922, where the lecture is given in full. The italic marks are mine.

In explanation of the matter of this volume, the following extract from Canon Richmond's preface to the composite volume above referred to should be read.

"The section dealing with the Fourth Gospel includes two Introductions, a note on the Prologue, and an Appendix."

"The first Introduction was written recently. Its thesis is that the Synoptic Gospels demand some such story as that of the Fourth Gospel, to supplement and explain their story. The second Introduction was written some years ago, but was modified and added to from time to time. It would, no doubt, have been further modified or rewritten had Dr. Holland lived. It deals with the Fourth Gospel itself, its character, purpose, and authorship. Where it touches, as it necessarily does, on the relation of this Gospel to the synoptists, it covers ground common to it with the first Introduction, but from a different point of view. Its purpose is positive and constructive, and if it appears, at any point, to refer to a stage of the Johannine controversy which is past, this does not interfere with the fulfilment of the positive purpose, which is to let the Fourth Gospel explain itself. A detached note on the Prologue and the rest of Chapter I follows the two Introductions. There is further added an appendix, containing a few notes, mainly from Dr. Holland's own Lecture Notes, partly from notes taken at his lectures by Mr. Neville Talbot[1] and Mr. Leonard Jones. The longest and

[1] Now Bishop of Pretoria.

most important of these deals with the κρίσις, the Johannine philosophy of belief and unbelief. And to these is further added a criticism of Von Soden's treatment of the Fourth Gospel, which seemed to illustrate the constructive treatment of the subject."

CHARLES GORE.

February 1923.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION I

PAGE

The Synoptic Gospels seem to present a simple story . 1

In fact they present an enigma : 2

The man Jesus is supra-normal : 3

(1) He is sinless, and forgives sins : 3

(2) He is vitally different from the forerunner ; . . 5

the Baptist preaches, He acts ; 6

He acts by His death 6

on which the story concentrates. 7

Why ? 7

(3) He claims a unique personal authority . . . 8

Yet He is no "enigma to Himself." 9

The enigma is solved by the Resurrection. . . . 12

The solution is beyond the Synoptic horizon. . . . 12

Their story does not account for itself. 12

Nor does it account for the Christianity of the early Epistles; 12

where (1) the believer is "in Christ" : . . . 13

(2) the Christian life is "in the Spirit" : . 14

(3) the redemption is universal. . . . 15

Hence the conclusion of critics that the Gospel of the Synoptic story was not the Gospel of Regeneration which converted the world 17

But it was the Church that believed in the Gospel of Regeneration which produced and received the Synoptic story 18

PAGE

They accepted it as the story of what went before the Resurrection which was the birth of Christianity. . . 19

The believer would not find in it the secret of his religious experience. 21

It told how the Master advanced to the death . . 23
by which He was to enter into glory, . . . 23
lonely, misunderstood, denied, forsaken. . . 24

But another record might be written, ... 25
such as tradition presents, ... 27
recalling words or facts of deeper significance, . . 27
accepting and assuming the Synoptic record, . . 27
using new materials, ... 28
recording the ministry at Jerusalem, . . . 28
such as they imply. 28

Their story makes Him intent on going to a Jerusalem . 30
which had already decided against Him : . . . 30
they do not tell us when she had rejected Him ; . 31
or how He had gained disciples there. . . . 32

It would be strange if He had not delivered His message at Jerusalem. 35

The Fourth Gospel tells us that He did. 37

INTRODUCTION II

Is the Fourth Gospel a genuine document ? . . . 38

It satisfies Ramsay's tests of a genuine document. . . 39

The author concentrates on the facts ; 41
especially the Jerusalem ministry. . . . 50

His point of view is Jewish, not Greek 68

He gives us the growth of apostolic faith. . . . 85

He introduces us into the apostolic circle. . . . 93

He gives us after-reflection on events not understood at the time 98

PAGE

He uses the common tradition, ... 104

but corrects it. 118

No one could do this but an Apostle. 123

Other suggestions are far-fetched. 124

The book records the memories, long brooded over, of the disciple whom Jesus loved. 131

NOTE ON THE PROLOGUE AND CHAPTER I 135

APPENDIX TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL 148

THE FOURTH GOSPEL

INTRODUCTION I

We all begin by supposing that we have in the Synoptic Gospels, and perhaps especially in their simplest Marcan form, a plain and simple story that explains itself. It makes its direct appeal, unvexed by enigma, by sheer simplicity of fact. It is enough just to read it through, and we are satisfied.

In contrast with this, the Fourth Gospel introduces us into a new and strange world. The familiar story takes on a totally changed colour. It is beset and beclouded with questions and perplexities. It raises problems at every turn. It stirs far-reaching issues which know no limit. It is a perpetual challenge to our faith to say what it means. If only it would leave us alone, to take the old tale at its own value, without travelling beyond it, we could be happy and content.

That is the first and easiest impression, and it is strange how long it lasts, even in the more advanced criticism of the day.

For the impression is purely superficial and illusory. The primary effect of the Synoptic Gospels may be direct and simple; but, as soon as our attention has got to work upon them, we see that,

far from being self-sufficient and complete, they offer no explanation whatever of the presentation which they offer us. They give no account of themselves. They raise problems for which they offer no solution. They provoke questions which they never attempt to answer. They leave off at a point where it is impossible to stop.

There is no possible presentation of the Man, Jesus, which does not hold in it this impenetrable enigma. It enters into the very stuff of the life—into that which makes Him the man that He is. It is no incidental addition to His ordinary self. It is no special endowment, or gift, of which His nature shows itself at intervals suddenly and strangely capable. He offers Himself to us as an enigma, as beyond and outside our normal nature. There is no escaping it. The plainest and barest Synoptic record presents the problem as vitally and inevitably implicated in its radical structure.

When the enigma takes the outward form of the Virgin Birth, or the Resurrection, we do not feel as if we had come up against anything new or strange. We have simply encountered the only conceivable expression which the inward enigma could have taken. As we read the simple facts, everything falls into its place. Everything explains itself. The enigmatical character which inherently belongs to the humanity rounds itself off; completes itself; justifies itself. That is all. His radical speciality, which makes Him what He is, has all along necessitated some such beginning,

and some such end. He is never anything but what all others are. He is always that, and something more. He is always a new Creation. He is always a "miracle." That is how and why He is our salvation.

The situation is critical. The Synoptic record challenges us with a presentation of Jesus which it refuses to account for by the normal standards of humanity. Consider some few special illustrations of this dilemma, which go very deep.

First, there is the sinlessness attributed to Jesus. There can be no doubt whatever that this is implied throughout. We are never allowed to suppose that He falls within the category in which, for Him, lies the real secret of all humanity. He could not forgive sin, unless He were wholly free from it.

Yet let us remember that these very believers, who so regarded Him, had all been under the baptism of John, which had, for its central Gospel, the absolute universality of the fact of sin. No one could be excused—no son of Levi, no child of Abraham. The axe is laid to the root of the tree. No condition of privilege had availed to avert the condemnation. There was only one way open to the Kingdom of Heaven—the way of repentance. So it had been burned into their souls, by the force of an irresistible preaching which had shaken the heart of an entire people. Not one of those who came to Jesus but had passed under the sifting judgment. Yet the very men who had accepted this unqualified verdict never found it possible to conceive of Jesus as falling within it. He was

accepted as lying outside the common story of man. And our Lord accepted for Himself, without an effort, or apology, or explanation, the unique position so given Him. For Him, too, a man who did not know himself to be a sinner was a man who had not found out what he was in God's sight. For such a man, who needed no repentance, the purpose of God towards him was a sealed book. Only to man, as sinning, was the heart of the Father revealed. "I came not to call the righteous." Sin is the key to His mission; and His mission is to all.

Yet, even so, there is no question for Him of this universal condition. He stands outside and above it; and, so standing, has power as Son of man on earth to forgive sins. How? Why? Nothing is told us. Only it is as natural, as inevitable. "Go in peace: thy sins are forgiven thee." "Who is this that forgiveth sin? There is none that can forgive sins but God only." Exactly. That is the truth, that no one disputes. Why, then, are these disciples, who record His title to forgive, not staggered? Why do they express no surprise? Why do they offer no justification? Why do they not take account of the manifest objection? Why do they write as if there were nothing to explain?

There is no answer. They can only remember and record that they experienced no surprise, and felt no shock. It was impossible to be with Jesus and not to accept it as perfectly simple and natural that He should forgive sin. The act seemed to them at the time to account for itself. It needed

no justification. The tremendous assumption is taken for granted. The problem is put at its very sharpest: yet no solution is offered. That is where the Synoptic record leaves you.

Take another obvious instance. The Synoptic drama turns on the radical contrast that is drawn between John the Baptist and Jesus. This contrast is vital. It belongs to the very core of the Gospel. It is regarded as essential that the approach to Jesus should be made through apprehension of this vital difference between His forerunner and Himself.

Everything is done to heighten our estimate of John. He carries the prophetic office of man as far as it will go. All that man can do in preaching righteousness to his fellow-men, in convicting them of sin, in turning their hearts to the living God, came to its climax in him. According to our Lord's own verdict, no one born of woman had done more. He was the very crown of prophecy. Not only a prophet: but greater than a prophet.

And yet he was powerless. In him, prophecy proved itself impotent. That is the outcome of his highest effort. That is his own deliberate conclusion. He can do nothing to lift the burden of sin. Their confession to him cannot change the situation. He can bring in no new day. He has no force by which to change the conditions to which they all confess. He leaves them where he found them. He makes no claim whatever to bring about that thing which he so ardently desires. He proclaims his and their impotence.

And, in contrast with this, Another will come after him, who does what he cannot do. He will not merely preach and prophesy. He will bring into play new power. He will act in a way that will reverse the existing conditions. He will put out force, the force of a fire, which will devour sin, and quicken life. By Him, man will become changed into a new creature. There will be a new order of things. The Kingdom of Heaven will come, through the transforming Baptism of Fire.

The New-Comer is to *act*: He is to go beyond all that prophecy or preaching can do. He is to do something which will change the world and renew man. So the Baptist insisted. And so the New-Comer Himself asserts. He is come here to act. A great deed is to be done towards which He resolutely sets Himself. "I have a Baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" Those of His inner company will see it happen with their eyes. The Kingdom will have come, at a blow; in a moment. Something will happen, by which it will arrive.

But what is this action to be? How will the change be worked?

He is Himself perfectly clear about that, but only after a certain definite hour did He begin to confide it to His most intimate friends. Only to those who could recognise Him as Messiah could the secret be disclosed.

The act, on which He is set, and on which all will turn, is His own death. That and nothing else will suffice. Only by and through this way of

exodus, death at Jerusalem, can the change be brought about, the new power liberated, and man be transformed.

So the story concentrates on the death. It is the one thing towards which all converges. It must be told bit by bit, with exact precision, with absorbing emphasis. The life is only told as leading up to the death. The death dominates all our interest. The death is the goal of our Lord's own thought, interest, purpose, all through the Galilean mission. The anticipation of it preoccupies Him ; He goes before them to meet it, in a mood of exaltation which frightens them as they tremblingly follow behind Him. Death is the work given Him to do : death is the cup given Him by the Father to drink to its bitter dregs. His death fills the scene.

But why ? How is death so necessary, so essential ? Why does His death work such a change ? How does it belong to the Divine Purpose ? Why should it bring in the Kingdom ?

Once again, the Synoptics tell us nothing. They give no answer in themselves. They leave one or two mysterious words embedded in the narrative, which carry in them the suggestion of what is the explanation. But, then, these words themselves are left by them isolated and uninterpreted. " The Son of man came to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many." That stands alone : a passing hint : no more. " This is My blood of the new Covenant." Here is a sudden word over which there are some critical difficulties as to its

exact original form. It is left without note or comment. It cries out for interpretation. Yet none is given. Death is a ransom. Death, by blood, seals the new Covenant. But why should it? Why is His death of this peculiar significance and value? In what sense is it required as a ransom, as a sacrifice? Why should the new Covenant be sealed in His blood?

All these questions carry us right outside the Synoptics. By them, they are wholly ignored. They do not attempt, or intend, to answer them. They simply raise the question: and leave it there. If you want an answer, you must go elsewhere. You must turn to the Epistles.

It is the same with the personal authority attributed by them to the Lord. It is impossible to exaggerate it. The momentous text (referred to by Dr. Loofs) in Matt. xi, startling as it is in its isolated directness of affirmation, does but make articulate the conviction that underlies the entire narrative. Jesus claims to stand over on the side of the Father, who is His Father in a sense that no one else shares. He can authoritatively declare to man the mind and purpose of His Father. "Your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things." "It is your Father's will to give you the Kingdom." By right of this supreme consciousness, He can correct and override that which stood for the will of God Himself in the old Law. "It was said of old: but I say unto you." By virtue of this unique Sonship His claim over men's entire lives is absolute. For His

sake, they may be called upon to *hate* all that is dearest to them—yea! and their own lives also. He is to be the sole standard of true humanity by which it will be tested at the Last Day. Men of all nations on the face of the earth will be judged according to their relationship to Him. Even their excellent charities will have their worth only because what was done to the poor was done to Him. Finally, in the eschatological vision, He takes up into His own hands the Divine prerogative and comes to be our Judge. At that day there is only one phrase on everyone's lips—"Lord! Lord!"

It is needless to elaborate an assumption so universal. But the point is that it is all assumed. It is taken for granted. It is accepted without question, without hesitation, without surprise, without explanation. Who is He who so claims? The Synoptics find it needless to say. They leave you to feel what they assume. They offer no argument, or proof: they attempt no definition. They present you with the enigma: and there they stop.

Can we stop where they stop?

Can we say with Dr. Latimer Jackson, in *The Eschatology of Jesus*, that the problem is insoluble, because Jesus was an enigma to Himself?

"Is it not just here that He becomes a problem to Himself? The problem remains with Him. He struggles to define to Himself, and to express to others, who and what He is: He who is, all the same, profoundly conscious of some unique relation-

ship to God. And that such is the case is perhaps evidenced by the recorded Saying: 'I have a baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!' (Luke xii. 50). On the assumption that the Synoptic Jesus thus spoke, He Himself reveals the situation. But if not it was assuredly grasped by the psychologist who placed the words in His lips. 'Straitened.' Because 'straitened,' eager for the moment when death would be the emancipation. 'Straitened'; as yet bound by limitations, subject as yet—and avowing Himself subject—to conditions that fetter and imprison Him, Jesus is an enigma to Himself. He is greater than He knows; better, perhaps, to say that, knowing Himself more than mere man, peculiarly related to God, human and nevertheless Divine, the precise 'who and what He is,' by reason of His limitations, is beyond His power of comprehension. By consequence it is beyond His power of adequate expression." [1]

"The Synoptic Jesus, 'straitened' as He Himself affirms, or as the penetration of the psychologist discerns Him to be, is elusive of His own grasp. Profound is His consciousness that there is 'something altogether abnormal' about His personality. Yet along with it, and by reason of His earthly limitations, there is the consciousness of a 'want of creative power'; words fail Him to express what, as time goes on, He feels Himself to be." [2]

That is, surely, the last word of a Criticism that

[1] Latimer Jackson, *Eschatology of Jesus*, pp. 325–6.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 327.

despairs of itself. For if there is one impression driven in inexorably from beginning to end of the Synoptic record, it is the absolute self-sufficiency and self-certainty of Jesus. It is just this that makes Him so impressive—that He is never a problem to Himself: that He is never uncertain or insecure: that He is never conscious of an elusive enigma in His own personal claim and authority. For Him, there is obviously no enigma at all in His power to forgive sins, or to judge the earth, or to reveal the Father.

That is the very reason why we are forced to believe His most astounding assertions—that to Him they appear so eminently natural, so utterly obvious. The whole Synoptic story has been written in vain, if Jesus was an enigma to Himself. The writers conspire to say this one thing—that He was not. He knew what He was about. He knew what He meant. He knew everything. That is what they intend to assert. That was the wonderful thing about Him.

Can we stop then, with them, in that impression, in that conviction, without troubling ourselves why or how He was what He was?

But their story is written, to record how this blind, inarticulate belief in Him was shattered to fragments by the Cross. It could not stand the shock. It had no inherent stability in it that would have survived the death, if it had not been revived out of the dust by the news of the Resurrection. No faith that confines itself within the limits of the earthly career of Jesus can escape from

the same disaster. Only when interpreted by the illumination of the Resurrection can it take a shape that will endure. But, with the Resurrection, the enigma is solved. He, who so mysteriously claimed this inexplicable allegiance, is now declared to be the Son of God with power by the Resurrection from the dead. He has won His right to reign. He has received His Kingdom. He sits at the right hand. This makes every earthly incident intelligible. We know why He forgives sins, and has infinite lordship over our souls.

But this secret lies beyond the Synoptic horizon. It begins just where they leave off. Our Lord's life on earth is like one of His own parables. Its purpose lies beyond it. If we are captivated and arrested by its charm, then we have missed all its real meaning. Its beauty has proved our snare. "Seeing, we see not; hearing, we hear not." Only those who are so stimulated by it that they press into the inner house with Jesus, crying "Tell us, what shall this parable mean?" have understood it. To them, it is given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom which are hidden behind the parable from those who are without.

The Synoptic story, then, does not account for itself. Still less does it account for the religion that adopted the story as its own. It cannot explain the actual historical Christianity, such as we find existing in the earliest form of which we have any record. What that Christianity was we know from St. Paul's earliest Epistles, which carry us back well behind the date at which the Synoptic

record was written down in the form in which we have it. And we can free it from any suspicion of a purely Pauline colour by confining it to those fundamental positions which lie outside his special controversies and to which he appeals as to the normal and necessary elements of a Christian's belief.

For instance, the life of the believer has been taken into the life of Christ, so that in His death he died, in His resurrection he is raised to life again. He is, in St. Paul's favourite formula, "ἐν Χριστῷ." This is the significance of his Baptism, as he very well knew. He was baptised into Christ's death. He was buried with Him by baptism into death, "knowing this, that the old man was crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed; and if we be dead with Him, we believe that we shall also live with Him." This appeal to a sure and familiar truth of faith is made to those whom he has never seen or known, and with whose faith he has never been personally concerned, as they have never come within his area of work. Yet he can be absolutely certain that this is the form of faith that they must hold. For it is the common ground on which all rest. This is the Gospel which is preached: Jesus crucified: and all crucified in Him that in Him all may be made alive.

That is the actual Gospel of Redemption, which won its way to be the new religion of Jesus. Yet the Synoptical writers think it well to write their story without an allusion to this mystical identification of the life of the believer with the life and death of the Lord.

It was not that they did not hold it; for St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul, must have been familiar enough with it. Yet he can tell the story of the Cross in minute detail without a single reference to its redemptive or sacrificial aspect, as the act by which a new humanity was born out of the death of sin into the life of righteousness.

So, again, the religious life of Christians, when we first discover it, is, above all things, a life lived "in the Spirit." They all know that they have received a gift of power from on high. This is the secret of all their joy. This is their unfailing experience. They were weak: they now are strong, but all because some new invasion has come down upon them from on high. It is the Spirit that He had promised—the fire of the Spirit which was to be the note of the new Baptism. It comes and lifts them on to their feet, because it is sent by Him who rose again and is now in power at the right hand of God. From the first moment in the earliest chapters in the Acts, throughout all the first Epistles, this arrival—this infusion of the Spirit is the key of the whole position. The believers walk "after the Spirit. If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His. The Spirit dwelleth in them. The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made them free from the law of sin and death. They are led by the Spirit of God, and so are the sons of God. By the Spirit they have power to mortify the deeds of the body. They have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby they cry, Abba, Father! The Spirit itself beareth

witness with their spirit, that they are the sons of God." All this, once more, is said to converts who lie wholly outside his own preaching and his own knowledge—converts of whom he knows personally nothing—converts of another's "planting." Yet he has the utmost confidence that this Gospel of the Spirit will be to them an intimate and familiar commonplace of faith. They cannot be of the faith without holding it: so radically inherent is it in the very heart of their experience and their creed.

Yet the Synoptic writers see no reason for referring to it. They pass it over. It does not come within their scope. Who would gather it from them?

Once more, there is the universalism of the Christianity revealed to us through the Epistles. This redemption of the Cross is the redemption of humanity. It has been foreshadowed in man's Creation, from the beginning of the world. It includes all men. St. Paul may have his own name for this—and call it "the mystery of the Gentiles"; and he may have it as his own special mission, to carry it out and apply it to its full measure. But *all* hold it. It was an inseparable element of the belief in the salvation wrought for them by the One Death. St. Paul did not accuse St. Peter of a failure to believe this universality of redemption, but of a failure to carry out his real belief in practice. He was afraid to stand by his own strong words: "There is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." He could not see at once all that was logically involved in that fact. But every step

taken made the conclusion clearer. And those same Romans to whom we have already referred knew just as surely as any converts of St. Paul's that the Gospel of Christ was "the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth—to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." It was this that gave momentum and inspiration to the Church as it moved out into that wonderful Gentile world, to claim it for its Lord.

Yet the Synoptic record is perfectly clear that this universality of purpose could not appear within the limits of the earthly career. Jesus, while He lived, confined Himself strictly and consciously to the Jews. "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the House of Israel." The disciples are to keep themselves carefully to the cities of Israel: they are not to touch Gentiles—or even Samaritans. Only by violence can a Syro-Phœnician woman force herself within the area of His working power. The Centurion who receives such warm praise is already probably a proselyte: and he built the Jews a Synagogue. So rigid are the barriers within which the entire career is enclosed. He never attempts to overpass them in act. Only He let fall ominous words about a day to come, when the vineyard will be taken away from its present holders, and when no temple stone will remain one upon another. But the day is not yet. And as yet He has no message whatever to deliver outside the Holy People.

The Synoptic story, then, leaves the primal form of the actual religion which set out to convert the

world unexplained and unaccounted for. We cannot wring it out of this record. And therefore it is that the criticism which follows the lines of Dr. Harnack, and which confines itself to the task of discovering the most reliable residuum of the Synoptic witness, finds itself forced to confess that the resultant Jesus had little or no relationship to the creed that actually arose in His Name. What He preached was, "first, the Kingdom of God and its coming; secondly, the Father, and the infinite value of the human soul; thirdly, the higher righteousness and the commandment of Love. In the combination of these three ideas—God the Father, Providence; the position of men as God's children; the infinite value of the human soul—the whole Gospel is expressed." [1] There we stop without having touched yet the distinctive notes of the Apostolic teaching.

Professor Kirsopp Lake, one of the ablest representatives of this school, considers it impossible to say whether Jesus ever came to Jerusalem with the expectation of death or of the coming of the Kingdom. He doubts whether He ever spoke Himself of dying and rising again. He had little or nothing to say about Himself. "His own personality was entirely subordinate to His preaching. And in His preaching He never publicly claimed to be Messiah; though He doubtless believed privately that when the Kingdom came, He would be Messiah. Actually all that can be said of His ministry is that He announced the

[1] Harnack, *What is Christianity?* pp. 51, 68.

speedy coming of the Kingdom, and demanded repentance." All the doctrine of Redemption, in which He became the centre of a Cult, belonged to a later stage in which Christianity had to meet the spiritual needs of the Hellenist and Gentile world. It was the Greek, and not the Jew, who felt his nature to be corrupt, and desired to become a new creature. It was to satisfy him that Christianity took on the language of regeneration. But, in all this, it was far away from the horizon of the Galilean ministry, and the mind of Christ. So that though it was this Gospel of Regeneration which converted the world, it has nothing to do with the Gospel that Jesus preached.

Now, the criticism that arrives at such a conclusion as this ought, surely, to reconcile its methods and premises. For it is quite certain that the Believing Body, which preached the Gospel of Regeneration, felt its intimate connection with the word preached by Jesus, for it was this very Body, in full possession of its redemptive creed, which produced and adopted the Synoptic record of what Jesus said and did, and made it the foundation of its preaching.

St. Mark must have been quite clear how close the bond was which bound the Gospel preached by St. Peter to the story that he had to tell.

St. Luke must have believed that his narrative of the Master's life and death was of one piece with the Salvation through the Blood which St. Paul preached.

The Church that gave to the Synoptic Gospels

their authoritative position must have relied on this coherence with what it, then, most certainly believed.

The task set to Criticism is to discover how it was that the Christianity revealed to us in the Epistles was convinced that it was identical with the purpose and mind of Jesus as recorded in these books. Why was it satisfied with them ?

The answer to the question brings out once more the limited intention of the Synoptic Gospels.

They are only intelligible if we recognise this limitation—a limitation that explains at once why they satisfied the Church which believed, at the time that they were written, so much more than they account for.

What was this limitation ?

It came from the fact that they were only intended to tell of what happened, before Christianity, as a religion, was actually born. As a new and independent religion, it only came into existence at the Resurrection. That is its original moment of creation. It believes in Christ risen from the dead. It was then that He took His power and reigned. It was then that He became the first-fruits of a new humanity. It was then that He received His Kingdom. It was then that He was declared the Son of God with power. It was then that He won the right to liberate the Spirit ; and gave gifts to men ; and created His Body, the Church.

Christianity dates from the Resurrection. Only by virtue of the Resurrection is the life seen to have fulfilled the saving purpose of God, as it moved

steadily forward to the Death that was fore-ordained from the beginning of the world. Only as so transfigured does the Death fulfil the Divine purpose, as the final proof of atoning love, as the moment of recovered union between God and man, as the Sacrifice that puts away sin, as the Propitiation that works our reconciliation. God's authoritative sanction, made known through the Resurrection, turns the Cross of suffering and shame into the glory wherewith He glorifies His own beloved son.

So it takes the Resurrection to make the Gospel story the seed of a religion. It is after belief in the Risen Redeemer that the Believing Body turns back to recall the events which had led up to the creative moment. The actual message of Redemption could, indeed, be practically independent of the preparatory period. St. Paul could deliver his whole Gospel of conversion without troubling himself with any reference to the facts. Enough for him that Jesus had been born of a woman, and had died under Pontius Pilate. But more especially under pressure of a Docetism which was anxious to disparage this reality, it was essential for believers to know enough of what actually had happened to be able to understand how their Lord had come to His death, and how He had prepared Himself for it, and how He had gathered about Him those who should deliver His message, and hold fast by His Name, and what He had showed Himself to be, in word and deed.

So the Books were written. The selected eye-witnesses used to tell the tale, and to illustrate

their teaching by stories about Him. Their loyal children in the faith took it down from their lips. Some took real trouble over it; and collected all the information that was open to them; and carefully set it down in order. One or two of the best of these collections were passed about, and copied, and completed. Finally three forms of the record were recognised by authority, and generally sanctioned, and took a special place. They stood out, as incomparably important; and there they remained.

But still everybody who read them knew that they told of what preceded the great hour in which the faith was born. They just reached the opening moment when the tomb was found to be empty; but they could not tell of all that followed from the fact that Christ had risen from the dead and become the Lord of their new life. One of the three, and that the earliest, was shorn even of the ending which told how He was seen again. Yet all that constituted Jesus, as their Redeemer, the centre of their worship, the Source of the new Spirit, the Lord of the Kingdom, King of kings, and Lord of lords, lay hidden in the secret that was made manifest by the Resurrection.

These books told the story of the earthly career; but that which made Christianity a living religion lay outside the limit of the career. It followed from His death. It began through His having died. The record of the career, by itself, could not contain it. Therefore the believer would not expect to find in the Synoptic story the central things of his faith.

Take the three instances that we have already selected as fundamental:

(1) The mystic union with the Lord, into whose death they were already baptised. Obviously this is excluded.

(2) The new Life in the Spirit. This cannot begin until the Lord has been exalted to give gifts to men. Till then, in St. John's abrupt, decisive phrase, "the Spirit was not."

(3) The universality of the Gospel. This could not be opened until the Lord had, on the Cross, broken down the partition between race and race. Till then, He was a Jew, "born under the Law." The Law still stood, and He submitted to it. He kept the Feasts, the laws of meats and drinks. He fulfilled all righteousness. He steadily denied that He broke the law of the Sabbath; and appealed for justification of His practices to the Law itself, to the customs of the Temple, and to precedents in the Old Testament. The Temple stood, and He worshipped there, loyally and steadily. Not until the Jews had destroyed it by killing Him could He raise another Temple for the new worship —the Temple of His Body. The Sacrifices remained until they were annulled by His own perfect and sufficient sacrifice on the Cross. So, until the veil was rent in the Temple, Jesus held Himself in tight and fast, within the limitation of an exclusive Law given to a chosen people. To Israel He confined His work and message. Only by death was He set free to reach the outer world which, in life, He was forbidden to touch.

The believer, then, knew that, as he read his Gospels, he would know nothing, directly, of all that which constituted his own fundamental religious existence. What he would see would be the last act of the old Covenant, under which his Lord and Master was brought out into the world to do the great deed by which all mankind could be saved. He would watch Him, as He prepared and nerved Himself for the high adventure. He would note how, while busy in doing good, and in healing, and in preaching to the poor, He nevertheless thrust all this behind Him, and almost fled from it, that He might move on towards the end on which His whole heart is set. This final act dominates His career. He devotes Himself ever more entirely to preparation for it. He is absorbed by its prospect. He broods over it. Up on the high mountains He prays over this one thing until He is transfigured by its glory—the Exodus that He is to accomplish at Jerusalem. There is our heroic athlete, training for the day of trial in the great arena. He is schooled, tempted, proved, disciplined, learning obedience through suffering: heard in that He feared: He shrinks: He prays that He may be spared the worst: yet if it is to be the Father's will, He will drink the Cup given Him to drink, however bitter. So He passes to His baptism of blood, as He deliberately foresaw it—scourged, spat upon, tortured, slain. He has to win His crown: He has to go into a far country to receive His Kingdom. It is not yet His. It is a real and actual humiliation to which He yields Himself, in

return for which God highly exalted Him and gave Him a Name which is above every name.

This is the drama which the reader will follow in this wonderful record. He will watch His master still burdened by the narrow limits under which He works; still imprisoned in a Past that is not yet done away; still straining to encounter the baptism wherewith He has yet to be baptised, and still straitened until it is accomplished. He has yet to arrive; to win; to take His great power and reign; to bring in the Kingdom. This will follow. But, as yet, He is only showing how indeed the Christ must suffer, and only by suffering enter into His glory. So it is written: and He goeth as it is written of Him. All things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms, concerning Him. In that He Himself hath suffered, being tempted, He is able also to succour them that are tempted. So, in the days of His flesh, He offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, and, though a Son, learned obedience by the things which He suffered, and, by them being made perfect, He then was ready to become the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey Him.

So much the believer would learn from his Synoptic book, and as he read the brief, entrancing tale, he would be all the more ready to hear how lonely the Master was, in His hour of stress and proof. Not a soul about Him understood Him. He had to nurse His secret to Himself. Not even His most intimate disciples could imagine what He

was doing, and why He was so set on this journey to Jerusalem. When He tried to tell them, their chief spokesman indignantly repudiated the possibility. Over and over again He told them what was before Him : and they only were cowed into a frightened silence. "They knew not the things that were spoken." Even in the last hour of agony, when He called to His nearest and dearest of all for sympathy, they fell asleep. They deny : they betray : they forsake. They are lost in despair.

All this the record does not shrink from telling. It has no interest in keeping it back, or in excusing. It only serves to heighten the solitary heroism of Him who looked and there was none to help ; and wondered and there was none to uphold ; and who foresaw well enough, and without complaint or fear, that they would all leave Him alone, to face the Power of Darkness, to drink the terrible Cup. The record has no interest in minimising the gloom or the disaster. It finds its joy in emphasising how the whole glory of God was hidden from men's eyes, and how His great work by which He redeemed us was done in the dark, before it broke out into the light.

That is the motive with which the Synoptics write. That is the mind in which the believers read.

But, then, there might be a record written with quite another motive, and read with quite another mind.

As the years went on, the questions must begin to stir which ask, "Was there, then, no sign at all, in all that happened, of what was to follow ? Did

no hint fall from Him which His disciples might have taken? Was there nothing to suggest all this mystery that was behind, at work? Did He never say more than He was recorded to have said to those blundering and simple-minded Galilean followers? Were there no occasions on which the deeper significance flashed through? Did the dark and burdened days hold in them no prophetic epiphanies, foretelling what was to be their issue? At the time, we quite see, you understood nothing, neither could you perceive the things that were spoken. But now, looking back from out of the light; now, knowing all that followed; now, reviewing the old tales, under the discipline of the teaching derived from a prolonged experience in the Kingdom up to which this story led—cannot you recall things that have now acquired a significance, which, perhaps, you could not be expected to see at the time? Are there no words or facts that start out into special prominence, by virtue of their prophetic bearing on what you know now to be the conclusion to which they pointed? Are there no points of light which have since shone out as stars? Was there no more than the Synoptics tell? After all, they have selected a tiny fragment of the life, the last year only [1]; they just tell how He made His last journey up from Galilee to Jerusalem. Was that all? Did He never act or speak publicly, except just for a few months? Did He never open His lips under other conditions, and, if He did, has no one remembered what He said?"

[1] See Appendix, Note I, p. 148.

The extreme scantiness of the Synoptic record, deliberately limited to the last hurried year,[1] was bound to leave room for such thoughts as these.

And our Fourth Gospel presents itself to us, as the answer with which these inquiries were met.

Tradition claims that one old man, an Apostle, who had been within the innermost circle of the eye-witnesses who told the Synoptic story, and who had lived to look back on the old days there recorded out of an experience which had shown him all the fullness of the revelation that those old facts held hidden in them, did set to work to review that story in the light of what he knew long afterwards.

He accepted the old story in its Synoptic shape. He assumes that his readers are perfectly familiar with it, down to the smallest detail. He will not needlessly repeat it. He takes it as his ground: and assumes its reality and value. He constantly refers to it, even though sometimes to explain or correct it. He does not mean to do again what they have done. He is on a different tack. They bring out how much was hidden: how little the reality was made manifest. He does not deny this; far from it. But he is engaged in recovering the moments at which the disciples, blind as they were, did become aware of something, did catch a gleam of the beyond; did feel the tremor of the real; did apprehend what afterwards became belief; did respond to the incoming truth. Even as those two from Emmaus could say, after they had seen Him,

[1] See Appendix, Note I, p. 148.

"Did not our hearts burn within us at the meal, as He spoke?" so this old man would remember, now that he has seen his Risen Master and known Him alive in His Kingdom, how his heart had burned within him, long ago, with a strange passion, as he listened to words which at the time were so remote and intangible, but which had since revealed to him, through many a long year, their vital significance.

Now, with this new end in view, he seems to have specially turned to materials which lay outside the beat of the Synoptic writers, and of which they were ignorant.

And, here again, we come upon matters in which the Synoptic record entirely fails to explain itself.

The cue is given us in a tradition preserved by Eusebius that St. John wrote his Gospel in order to supply an account of an early period of the Lord's ministry which the other Gospels had omitted (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 24). It is clear that there had been such a ministry; and that it was in Judæa.

The Synoptics indirectly imply it, by the reason that they give, at the opening of their story, why Jesus came preaching in Galilee. It is because John has been put in prison. That is why it is prudent for Him to withdraw into Galilee (Mark i. 14; Matt. iv. 12). He has already, then, become prominent enough in His teaching to come under the menace which has overtaken the Baptist. He will be the next to be attacked. Galilee is His retreat from some more public area in which He stood in danger.

The calling of the first few disciples, who leave boats and nets and home at a sign from Him, is unintelligible without an earlier ministry.

He had already encountered the teaching of Scribes and Pharisees against which He warns His hearers in the Sermon on the Mount. And their hostility, already aroused, follows Him down into Galilee. There the first note of opposition, which occurs over the healing of the paralytic, is associated with Pharisees and Doctors who came, not only out of the villages of Galilee, but from Judæa and Jerusalem (Luke v. 17). It is the Scribes coming down from Jerusalem who suggest that He casts out devils through Beelzebub (Mark iii. 22). Again, after the Baptist's death (Matt. xv. 1 ; Mark vii. 1), "there gather themselves together unto Him the Pharisees and certain of the Scribes which had come from Jerusalem." This is the danger of which He is already so keenly aware ; and He, again, retreats in face of it. "Jesus went out thence, and withdrew into the parts of Tyre and Sidon." The withdrawal from Judæa into Galilee has to be followed by a withdrawal farther afield in view of a formed hostility which is following Him down into His retreat.

More and more, as we read the Galilean Gospel, we see that it is a Gospel of flight. He breaks up the crowds which gather round Him. He escapes to lonely mountains ; or to the frontiers of heathendom. There is a peril abroad which He must avoid. His disciples are troubled at this flight, which they cannot understand. An old word of prophecy comes to their help. "He shall not

strive nor cry." They have no measure of the peril which has its seat far away in Judæa.

And when He reveals to them that this flight is only in order that He may go back to face the peril, from which He is now hiding, in Jerusalem itself, they are utterly at sea.

Yet the whole key to the Galilean ministry lay here. He is in Galilee, that He may go up to Jerusalem. That is His one absorbing and overmastering purpose. That is the one secret which He has to confide to those specially chosen to receive it. Again and again He repeats it. "He took again the Twelve and began to tell them the things that should happen to Him, saying, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem." "They were in the way going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus was going before them, and they were amazed; and they that followed were afraid" (Mark x. 32, 33). "And it came to pass when the days were well nigh come that He should be received up, He steadfastly set His face to go to Jerusalem" (Luke ix. 51). "And He went on His way, journeying towards Jerusalem" (Luke xiii. 22).

To Jerusalem; and to die there. There is no other possibility open, He foresees every detail. He is absolutely aware of the result that is inevitable. He does not go to offer His Gospel to Jerusalem, to give it its chance of salvation. All that is over. The decision has been taken. Jerusalem has given its verdict. It has pronounced irrevocably against Him. If He challenges a decision then, He knows what it will be.

This is the whole meaning of that careful and wary preparation for His return to which He devotes Himself in Galilee. To go there is to die: there is no illusion about that. Whatever He has to do here on earth must be completed before He makes His great venture; He cannot go until the hour, deliberately chosen, has come. He goes simply to bring down upon His head the judgment which seals the fate of Jerusalem, because "she knew not the day of her visitation." She had had, then, such a day. She had had her opportunity. He had made to her His offer; and had been rejected. There is no meaning in the doom that He pronounces on her, unless that be true. It had been; and, now, it is gone. "Now, it is too late: these things are hid from her eyes."

But when had her chance been given her?

The Synoptics cannot tell; apparently they do not know. They report the mind, at the time, of the bewildered disciples who could not imagine what He was talking about. Yet, simply enough, they report these words of His and His actions, which are totally unintelligible on any other hypothesis. And just once they allow a cry to break through, which tells the whole story. "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! how often would I have gathered thy children together! . . . but thou wouldest not!" The words cannot, surely, refer to a desire which He never put into act. The judgment pronounced, "Behold! thy house is left unto thee desolate," is inconceivable, unless the "visitation" had been an actual fact. The rational interpre-

tation of the words is to take them at their direct value, which precisely fits the situation and the context. He is right in pronouncing a final doom on the city, because He had done His utmost to give to its children their full opportunity: and they had refused it.

And the Synoptics themselves supply the evidence of the reality with which He had already made His offer in Jerusalem; for they tell, without a touch of explanation, of devoted disciples, friends, lovers, whom He already possesses in the city which they have never told of His having visited.

How is it that, at Bethany, there is a house where He can always make His home, with those who passionately love Him, and will stand by Him in the day of peril? How is it that there is a man with a colt in a village near, who will yield it at once to His service at the word, "The Lord hath need of it"? (Mark xi. 3). How is it that a man, whose very name they fail to give, is so loyal in his faith, that in the very darkest hour he will keep an upper room ready for Him at a moment's notice? Who is this with whom He can trust Himself to communicate, just when all the world is against Him, by a pre-arranged code of signals? "Go ye into the city, and there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water. Follow him: and wheresoever he shall go in, say ye to the goodman of the house, The Master saith, Where is the guest-chamber where I shall eat the Passover with My disciples? And he will show you a large upper room, furnished and prepared. There make ready

for us" (Mark xiv. 13). How did Joseph of Arimathæa arrive at his belief ?

Obviously the Master finds Himself at Jerusalem among a circle of devoted adherents, of whose origin the Synoptic Gospels have nothing to say. He has been here before ; and they did not know it. This, alone, interprets and justifies the intense preoccupation of the Lord with the exact details of the death that so certainly lies before Him. This, alone, enables us to enter into the full significance and stress of the reiterated formula, " Behold, we go up to Jerusalem," " He set His face to go to Jerusalem," " He was in the way going up to Jerusalem." All the Synoptics give a threefold repetition of this saying. All of them agree that there arrived a time in their discipleship which was characterised throughout by this one motive: " Then began Jesus to say to them."

St. Luke adds a special set of reminiscences which he has collected, all of which he strings together under this general title : " He was in the way going up to Jerusalem." He does not appear to know how else to group or place them. In one of them we find ourselves already at the village where Martha and Mary lived, which we conclude to be Bethany (Luke x. 33). If so, we have practically reached Jerusalem. Yet, as if unaware of this, the Evangelist still continues to speak of our Lord as drawing nigh to Jerusalem, as if He never quite reached it, and this even though some of the stories look as if they belonged to the place itself. " A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho."

" And they told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices " (Luke x. 30, xiii. 1, 4). And he, in return, refers to the falling of the tower of Siloam. He seems to be breathing the air of the city. But the Evangelist knows nothing of an actual presence of the Master in Jerusalem, until the great entry from Bethany. Up to the historic moment He is only " going up to Jerusalem," " setting His face to Jerusalem," " drawing nigh to Jerusalem."

This represents the Synoptic limit. The authors write as reporting the mind of those who, at the time, knew of nothing more. And, therefore, they do not really ever explain the catastrophe which they narrate. They are not in possession of those previous events which had determined it.

We have to go outside the Synoptic story to make its drama intelligible.[1] Here, then, is the pathos and the tragedy of the story of the Galilean mission. The drama has its focus, throughout, in Jerusalem. He is only in Galilee at all, because He is under menace in Jerusalem. His dominating purpose is to plan His return to the fatal city, where His death is already a foregone conclusion. He goes to Jerusalem as One who has already made His offer, and whose death has been morally decreed.

The only alternative is the suggestion of Schweitzer that He, in desperation at the delay of the coming

[1] The whole of this problem of the ministry in Jerusalem is carefully and convincingly treated in Richmond's *Gospel of the Rejection*, on which I have largely drawn.

of the Kingdom, goes to Jerusalem to provoke and invoke death, and so to force the crisis.

It is difficult to conceive a policy so alien to the mind and spirit of Jesus, as they are reported to us. He is always collected, sane, steady, reasonable. There is nothing in Him of the violent, headstrong enthusiast. The other account hangs together at every point. It brings the whole story together into an intelligible whole. It explains the many indirect indications of such a previous ministry in Jerusalem, which the Synoptic story carries in it unawares.

Nor is it only the Synoptic story which this earlier ministry serves to explain. It also satisfies our natural and reasonable expectation which, without it, would be uncomfortably disappointed.

For it would be strange indeed, if One who deliberately set Himself to evoke Messianic hopes, and to announce the coming of the Kingdom, should have abstained from delivering His message in a spot sacred to the tradition of the King, and in the sacred home of prophecy. It would be strange if He had done this who, even as a boy, at the sight of Zion, and the Temple of the God of Israel, had been so overmastered by the impression that He had forgotten mother and home in the exaltation of being about His Father's business, in His Father's house. It would be strange if He who wept over the city had never sought to win it.

And parable after parable would lose half its force if He had only come to Jerusalem to pronounce

its judgment. There must have been some moment at which the Owner of the vineyard had made His tender appeal, "They will reverence My Son," before the decree went out that the vineyard was taken from the rebellious husbandmen and given to others. There must have been a moment when the invitation went out from the King to call them that were bidden to the marriage—His select and chosen friends who belonged to the inner circle.

There must have been a time when the builders rejected the stone which was to become the head of the Corner, before the fatal hour when already the sentence had gone out against them. "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate"—"The Kingdom is taken from you." "On whomsoever this stone shall fall, it shall grind him to powder" (Matt. xxi. 37–44).[1]

It is impossible that these last words of doom should be the first words He had addressed to the central authority in Jerusalem itself. They had had their opportunity. As Mr. Richmond argues, He who allowed men to hail Him as Son of David, had not failed to make His claim in the City of David. The successor of the Prophets had not failed to bear His witness at the heart of the national life and the national religion.

On every ground, by virtue of all the converging evidences, there had been a ministry in Jerusalem; and the Synoptic Gospels make it certain that this ministry had been attempted before the mission in Galilee had begun.

[1] Cf. Richmond, *Gospel of the Rejection*, p. 26.

Now, it is the Fourth Gospel which alone tells us what this ministry was, and when it happened.

This exactly corresponds with the tradition recorded in Eusebius, and we can see why this ministry in Jerusalem met the purpose with which we have conceived him to be writing.

INTRODUCTION II

The nature of the process through which the Synoptic Gospels arrived at their present form and were confined to their present limitations is still in the hands of the critics. The conditions which produced them are complicated and remote. We have yet much to learn as to the method by which the materials came together. But the time has nearly come for something like a direct verdict on the character of the Fourth Gospel. Here is a single and complete phenomenon, challenging decision. It stands absolutely alone : its claims and its significance are without a parallel. It is intensely personal, distinct, separate. It has a style of its own ; a temper, an atmosphere that are unmistakable. In spite of every possible effort to break it up into a variety of component parts, it remains stamped with an identity, an individuality, which possesses it from end to end. In so unique and entire an effect, a unique and single cause must be found. No origin can be adequate to account for it that is not absolutely original and authoritative. Once and once only was such a thing done. Who is there who could do it ? That is the challenge that cannot be evaded.

The Book stands there, in its supreme distinction, demanding a decisive explanation.

And every conceivable explanation has been attempted : and all possible alternatives have been sifted and discussed. All the historical materials for the work have been passed under every available form of scrutiny. Each criticism that we take up does but work, again and again, over the familiar ground we know. Shall we ever be in a better position than we are now, for arriving at a decision ? Are not all the issues before us, exhibited and analysed and arranged by the most careful study of which Criticism is capable ?

And, now, what are we going to say ? The time has come ; we ought to make up our minds.

Take the Book itself. What can we make of it ?

The external evidence as to the origin and authority of the Book is singularly strong and full, subject only to the possible hesitation between John the Apostle, and John " the Disciple " or " Elder," which may colour the earliest notices of the authority. But no external evidence, however forcible, can do more than compel assent, or silence objections. It can never create a living conviction. And I propose, therefore, to leave it alone for the moment, and to confine myself to an examination of the Book itself in the light of those tests which, according to Professor Ramsay, serve to distinguish genuine from spurious documents. The advantage of these tests is that through their application we enter into the very soul of the Book itself, and so gain intimate insight into the realities of which it treats, as well

as a living personal conviction concerning the grounds of its validity.

What, then, are the signals and tests of a genuine work? I venture to take these from a striking passage [1] of Professor Ramsay's:

"There are some documents whose falseness to the period to which they profess to belong has been clearly demonstrated. All such documents have certain well-marked characteristics. Some purpose or intention of the writer is obvious in them; and above all, nothing, or next to nothing, for the historian's purpose can be inferred from them. They have no reality or life beneath the surface; or, to put it in another way, they have no background on which, by closer inspection and minuter study, other facts and figures can be seen to move. They attest some single fact in view of which they were composed; but they give no further evidence to aid the historian. The personages are mere lay figures: they have lived no life; they have no part and no historical surroundings. But there is another class of documents, whose spuriousness would cause a serious loss to the historian. Such documents suggest a real story underlying the superficial facts: the characters are living men whose real experiences in the world have caused the facts which appear on the surface; and from these facts we can work back to their past experiences, their surroundings, the world in which they moved. I know no case in which it has been demonstrated that such a document is spurious."

[1] *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 178.

Here, then, are our tests. In the genuine documents, it will be found that—

I. The facts recorded on the surface must emerge out of real experiences of living characters, so that—

II. We can work back from the surface facts to the underlying story which they reveal.

Now, I would ask whether, if you were searching round the whole world of literature for a book to illustrate the process which the Professor here describes, you could find any instance so complete or so full, as this Gospel attributed to St. John ?

I. For I am certain that, the closer our study of the book, the more convinced shall we become that it is absolutely incomprehensible except as proceeding from, and revealing, the peculiar experience of a personal character. At every turn, the reader finds himself forced back upon the personal element to interpret the structure, the arrangement, the connection, the suggestions, that make the book what it is. This personal equation is no accidental appendage. It possesses and pervades the whole ; it underlies every incident ; it breaks through every turn of the language. A crowd of minute phrases have no value except what they derive from their living connection with the writer whose witness they embody. It will be the main object of this Introduction to make good what is here asserted ; and to exhibit the accumulative force of the evidence unconsciously supplied.

And, first, let us see how vitally and essentially this personal element enters into those occasions on

which he makes direct and conscious assertion of his value as an eye-witness. There are three special moments at which this personal claim of the eye-witness culminates, and challenges recognition.

(1) One is at the sight of the lance, thrust into the side of the dead Christ on the Cross, "and straightway there came out blood and water." At this point, the emotional intensity of the writer, generally so reserved and controlled, breaks through his story: and he stops to make an emphatic and formal assertion. "And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true; and he knoweth that he saith things that are true, that ye also may believe."

There are some peculiarities in the form of the statement, such as the speaker's specification of himself as ἐκεῖνος, as if he were pointing to himself from outside; but any difficulty caused by this oblique reference to himself vanishes in face of the alternative of supposing a reference to anyone else. The emphatic appeal to some unknown and unnamed witness, at such a momentous crisis, when the authority introduced is evidently intended to be direct and overwhelming, would be so pointless that the suggestion dismisses itself. The only conceivable alternative is that suggested by Dr. Abbott and Dr. Sanday, that ἐκεῖνος represents an appeal to our Lord. "He who is above: He who is the sole authority and Lord: He, before whom we stand and speak: *He*, the only one, knows that I am speaking the truth." The suggestion is attractive. But, then, it leaves the personal appeal of

the eye-witness to the authenticity of his statement untouched: indeed, it is emphasised. But, attractive as it is, it hardly carries conviction. The justification of the form used is given in Westcott's *Introduction to St. John*, pp. xxv–xxvii, and most convincingly in Dr. Drummond's *Character of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 380. P. Loisy sees clearly enough that the only natural way to take the passage is to eliminate the idea of any third person, and to accept the witness and the writer as one man. How, indeed, is any other course imaginable?

But now, if this is so, consider the singularity of the point at which this solemn asseveration is made. It is at the sight of the blood and water—a sight in which (as we gather from the author's Epistle) he sees the symbolic expression of the deepest life of the Church. Now, how did he arrive at this suggestion? How was he led to such a mystical interpretation? Is it conceivable that he started from the side of the mystical interpretation and, desiring to symbolise the outflowing of Eternal Life through the two Sacraments in the Church, created the incident in which he embodies it? But what a strange, impossible incident to create for the purpose! How remote! How far-fetched! How incidental a detail! The very form of the incident belies the supposition, for it reverses the obvious order of the Sacraments, and puts the Blood before the Water. If the imagery created the fact, it would at least fashion it in obedience to the purpose for which it made it. And why, at this special moment of the Crucifixion,

should the thought of the two Sacraments have occurred to the writer? There is no conceivable link by which to bring them in. There is nothing that could make it natural, or reasonable, for him to desire to refer to them just then. Nothing—unless the *fact* occurred; and he saw it. Given the fact, and the startled sight of it, then the mind had its material, and could brood over this or that deep significance to be found in it. Those significances may, then, become the dominant interest on which the writer would arrest attention. But, without the fact itself, without the strange and sudden detail, there is nothing to suggest the train of thought. It is wholly unaccounted for. The very smallness of the detail intensifies the necessity for the actual occurrence, in order to bear the immense emphasis laid upon it, and the profound meaning extracted from it. Why select just this unimportant and momentary incident, as the occasion of this solemn expression of personal witness, unless it had been an experience charged with some momentous significance for the special person concerned, just as so often in our own experience, at an intense crisis, some tiny incident, of no particular importance in itself, starts into abrupt and inexplicable prominence, and gathers into itself the entire actuality of the scene? If the writer did find himself startled into some crisis of emotion by the swift rush of blood and water following the withdrawn lance; if the sight was so rooted in his memory that it could never be excised; then, it is perfectly intelligible and natural

that he should be found, half a century afterwards, brooding in an Epistle over what the sight might mean; and detecting in it the suggestion of the Sacramental life. But the very remoteness and strangeness of the mystical interpretation given betrays the absolute necessity of the fact.

It is at a point like this that we can best appreciate the difficulties of any counter-hypothesis. Let anyone turn to Père Loisy's exposition, which is one of the most brilliant examples of his method; and he will recognise the inherent incredibility of the position taken. He supposes the writer to be a devout believer, who has no regard for actual facts, but who is engaged in portraying the true faith of the ideal Disciple, and is creating the scene which should correspond to what he now believes about Christ and His gift of eternal Life through the Cross. The person introduced into the scene is an ideal creation of his own; he hardly knows now whether it is himself, or another, whom he pictures as present. For him, all attention is absorbed, not in what may have actually happened, but on what the scene on the Cross has become to those who can apprehend it in the perspective of spiritual faith. Such faith lives as it now lives, by the power of Baptism and Eucharist; and these twin Sacraments must date their efficacy from the Death on the Cross. They must be seen issuing from Him who died. This spiritual necessity is ample to explain the picture of the incident.

Now could any improbability go further? Remember, there is nothing to force forward the

thought of the twin Sacraments at that particular juncture, except the incident. There is nothing whatever to explain how the thought of the Sacraments threw itself out into an incident so curiously precise, minute, and unlooked-for. And the order (Blood and Water) shows conclusively that the thought of the Sacrament was not the primary ruling conception. Remember, too, that the writer does not give the slightest passing hint of the Sacraments, which alone are supposed to occupy his mind, and is satisfied with fixing attention solely on the curious fact, to which he calls attention by serious and emphatic asseveration of his claims to have actually seen it. We may gather from his Epistle what it was which, as he brooded over it, made that little incident so strangely pregnant for him ; and why it is, therefore, that he gives it, in his story, this unaccountable pre-eminence. But, as it stands, it is the fact itself on which his stress falls. " It happened ; and I saw it."

The like argument applies with equal force to the two small prophecies attached, both of which, as Loisy rightly observes, fall within the solemnity of the great asseveration :

(i) " A bone of Him shall not be broken." [1]

(ii) " They shall look on Him whom they have pierced." [2]

Now, on the supposition that it is the prophecies that create the stories, not the stories that evoke the memory of the prophecies, consider where we are. These are not words which leap to the eye

[1] Exod. xii. 46 ; Ps. xxxiv. 20. [2] Zech. xii. 10.

out of the old Scriptures. They are not to be distinguished from hundreds of other statements. Nothing about them would suggest the necessity of a positive fulfilment. There was no special fear or likelihood of our Lord's bones being broken. Such a fear makes no appearance in the other Gospels. Nor was there any haunting imagination of a pierced Messiah, that would tend to create a correspondent incident. But if it had been true that there had been imminent risk of our Lord's legs being broken to assure death, and that it had mercifully been frustrated, then, no doubt, the old words might well leap to the lips of a man who had seen it. The likeness to the Paschal Lamb would flash into his heart. But the incident itself is essential in order for us to arrive at the suggested analogy.

So again, if the witness saw the side pierced, then the words might start out from their context in Zechariah : " they shall look on Him whom they have pierced." But nothing short of the actual sight seen could have disentangled these words, and singled them out, and lifted them into this otherwise inexplicable prominence.

(2) Now, to turn to the second special incident at which the personal experience of the writer challenges recognition, and constitutes the sole interpretation of the emphasis given. It is the moment at which the two men, Simon Peter and " the other disciple," ran both together to the sepulchre, to verify the report of Mary Magdalene. The detail, here, of the running has no interest

whatever, except what it derives from the personal element involved. It is profoundly interesting if it is the record of the actual fact, as it stamped itself, in its minuteness, into the heart of the man for whom it was the moment of all moments, when belief in the Risen Lord first flashed in upon his soul; but on no other hypothesis whatever. Why, otherwise, could it matter that he outran Peter; got there first; stooped down; saw only the linen clothes, and not the napkin laid by itself; was afraid to go in; had not yet received any rush of conviction? And why, otherwise, is it worth telling that he did pluck up heart to follow Simon, when he came up and went in; and that then, at the sight, somehow, of the napkin that had been about the head of the Master, as it lay, separated from the linen clothes, rolled up in a place by itself, faith woke at a blow, and "he saw and believed"? Here is the direct challenge home once more. The story arrests and concentrates attention upon a detail that is meaningless, if it is not personal, a personal witness to a fact seen.

(3) Yet again, at the close of the Book, we are brought straight up to the same arresting challenge. The entire authority of the witness given is re-asserted, as lying with a disciple who had seen and had told what he had seen. A circle of believers, standing round, give their word for it. They join in to corroborate the fact that the speaker, who is bearing his witness, is indeed such an eye-witness. And what is the moment at which he breaks in to assert his claim, and they, to endorse it? It is

a moment in which the accepted version of a saying of the Lord's about this very eye-witness has come up for revision. The facts were beginning to make it look doubtful. For it had seemed to imply that the disciple would not die before his Lord returned. Yet evidently there are reasons for asking whether the saying must have involved this, Did it precisely go as far as that ? Were not its terms more ambiguous ? The disciple himself appears to be anxious to recall attention to the original form. The Master had not actually said that he should not die ; but only that it was to be left an open question whether he should so tarry alive until His coming again, or no.

Is it possible to read these words without feeling that the question is still open, as the words are written ? We are carried back to a moment when the obviously approaching death of the man about whom the saying went abroad had forced men to ask themselves what had actually been said ; and to prepare for another solution than the one with which they were familiar. What if he were, after all, to die, before the Lord came ? Would the Lord's word be falsified ? No ! For, if the words are carefully noted, He has left the issue undetermined. And that is as far as they can get. They are not yet prepared to say what the end will be ; only they are prepared for either alternative. This is the most natural interpretation of the curious suspense in which the record leaves us hung, as it closes in this mood of hesitation. And there is no other interpretation that will explain the intense

personal interest taken in the problem, and the emphasis which makes it an adequate close to the whole record. It embodies a brooding anxiety which could only be natural if the witnessing disciple were drawing towards death, but not yet dead.

These are the three salient moments on which any natural and reasonable interpretation of the text forces us back on the personal experience and personal interest of the writer, as the sole cue to the form and character of the expressions used. The curious occasions which he selects for dwelling, with peculiar emphasis, on his own intimate concern with the witness given, refuse to explain themselves on any other hypothesis. Unless they belong to a particular and memorable individuality, into whose vital experience they have passed, so as to acquire that unique significance which belongs to that which has been our very own, and has become part and parcel of ourself, their emphatic selection remains forced, artificial, in the air. We are drawn to invent for them some elaborate and unnatural origin, which cannot be more than guesswork, and is beyond the reach of proof or criticism.

II. The Book also answers to Ramsay's second test: we can work back from the surface facts to an underlying story.

Not only does the work record the inner experiences of the writer, but behind it and within it emerges into light a whole world of national and local life, breathing, vital, manifest. We are carried back into the thoughts, hopes, feelings,

fears, that shook the crowds in the streets of Jerusalem, or by the waters of Jordan, or on the Galilean hills, at a particular moment in their national story. We can feel them swaying to and fro under passions that have long ago perished, round problems that no longer exist, till the tiny provincial hubbub stirs again. The jealousies, the injustices, the narrownesses, of local coteries, of rival sects, and of paltry traditionalisms, become alive to us. We are made aware of the differences between Galilean and Judæan; of social divergences; of sayings and habits, and modes of argument, and taunts, which had once been natural and instinctive. We are made, e.g., to feel the sting that lies behind "Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil." "How can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" "Search and look; out of Galilee ariseth no prophet." There may be questions concerning the exact significance of the expressions: but at any rate they hold in them the passion of old days, when the scorn of Judæa for Galilee was felt as an instinct, and ran in the blood. The name of Nazareth carries its own condemnation with it. Everybody is expected to be sensitive to its damaging reproach. No explanations are needed. Jerusalem wins its case by a sneer that is an argument in itself. The Church has moved far away from these narrow and vehement local prejudices at the time when their record is being written, but they stir again in these flying retorts.

From end to end the Gospel is a very storehouse of minute memories, out of which we can

construct the nature of the religious life at that day, the varieties and changes of the popular Messianic expectations, the movements and currents of religious thought, the influence of customs and prejudices. The references to this underlying life and its institutions are inevitable. The language teems with them, spontaneously. An old world, of a very marked type, covering a very limited area, confined to a particular date, all revives before us as we read. We are back in its cramped horizon : we feel the sway and swing of its anxieties, the motion of its hopes, the passion of its disappointments, the critical agony of its decisions. We are tossed to and fro with it, as it passes under the terrible strain of its "visitation." We follow, stage by stage, along the drama of this national tragedy. We are led down to peer into its inner motions. We are shown its strange surprises, its actions, its reactions, its sudden collapses, its final crystallisation. It is a living process at which we gaze. We are inside it. We take part in the solution of the crisis. It is made as vivid as if it were our own.

And then we are to remember that all this popular life, so vitally portrayed, had disappeared off the face of the earth, years and years before the earliest date at which this book can possibly have been written. It is all dead and buried, "Dust and ashes, dead and done with." Jerusalem had long ago been destroyed. There are no Feasts to which the Galilean peasants troop up. There is no Messianic Hope stirring in waste Judæa. There is

no High Priest or Sadducee, no Pharisee or Scribe lording it, with honoured authority, in the Courts of the Temple. There is no peaceful security for Jewish Nationalism under kindly Roman centurions, as in the days herein remembered. It is gone as a dream. It cannot be studied: and so portrayed. No one now knows it but those in whose memories the dead Past lies stored. But here it is in its rich and manifold vitality, so that we can feel the very beat of its pulses.

This you will find given back to us, as it only could be given back if it were done out of the bones and blood of a living man's memory; but I want now not so much to prove this characteristic of the book as to show how it bears on the motive with which it was written. The important thing is to note how profoundly it is coloured by this interest in these past experiences. Back upon the actual facts the attention is concentrated. It is the old story of how it happened, which the writer is absorbed in telling.

Now consider how remarkable this is. He is speaking, obviously, to a circle that is wholly Greek. All through the Gospel Judaism, and "the Jews," with "their laws" and "their customs," are an utterly remote and alien thing. They lie outside the Christian experience. The term "the Jews" embodies the spirit of concentrated hostility to that which is of Christ. These new hearers have never belonged to it: its problems are far away and unmeaning: its discussions and agitations have long been obsolete. It had never been touched by their

Hellenic mind. It lay completely aloof from their literature and their traditions. They were themselves in the turmoil of a thousand speculative questions and influences, which swept over their faith and shook and unnerved them—questions and influences such as never had appeared within the horizon of those Judæan or Galilean experiences. It was under the storm and stress of their intellectual agitation that they turned to this aged teacher still lingering in their midst, on the edge between life and death, to receive the reassurance that their souls desired. And he, in order to reassure, in order to meet their new demands, in order to solve their speculative doubts, simply carries them back to the old days before these doubts and difficulties had ever been felt. He leaves wholly aside their philosophical questionings, and occupies himself with the curious and temporary and purely local disputes, which had once hotly engaged the attention of Galilean peasants and fishermen in the excitement of the Baptist's appearance by Jordan: or had shaken the little Synagogues dotted about the towns near Capernaum. These disputes turned round minute details of the popular interpretation of Messianic expectation; or round petty minutiæ of Jewish legalism; or touching the things that might or might not be lawful on the Sabbath day. All such Sabbatarianism had long ago ceased to have a meaning for those to whom the author wrote: the Messianic expectation, as it then stood, the fervour of excitement round the preacher by Jordan, were ancient history, almost unintelligible to those

who stood so far outside the atmosphere in which such things were possible. Yet, these are the things that he sets himself to tell. These are the matters that he deliberately sets himself to recover and to relate with exact precision, with extreme minuteness of reference, with anxious accuracy as to the order of events and the exact condition of mind which accompanied them. He is bent on explaining what was understood at the time, and what was learned afterwards. He is extremely sensitive to the right succession and growth, both of understanding and of misunderstanding, through which disciples and opponents passed. He is keenly alive to the variety of mode and route by which each separate disciple arrived at his final conviction: and he is equally keen to exhibit the gradual process by which the varying elements of opposition came slowly together, and fused into the final fatal judgment. He lingers lovingly over tiny incidents that were of no weighty importance at all, except through their having become embedded in a personal memory. That memory has retained them with a tenacity that comes solely from the intensity of the emotion with which they were primarily received, and from which *now* no wearing work of time can ever avail to dislodge them. Instance after instance will appear of this temper, if we follow the book through. It is enough for the moment to recall especially chapter i, from v. 29 to the end, with its emphasis on the mere notes of days and hours. "The next day" (v. 29). "Again, the next day after" (v. 35). "It was about the tenth hour"

(v. 39). "The day following" (v. 43). "And the third day" (ch. ii. 1).

There are several instances in which he notes a fact down, because it is a fact, and he always remembers it. "He went down to Capernaum, with His mother and His brethren, and abode there not many days." No doubt this comes in to supply the first touch of His connection with the Capernaum which was His habitual home in the Synoptic story. But, as it comes in our Gospel, it is there for no reason that belongs to the purpose of the writer. Nothing happened in the few days at Capernaum. It is simply an incident thrown in, associated somehow with the moment in the writer's memory.

There is the notice of the subject of discussion between John's disciples and a Jew. "It was about purification." Nothing else is told us. We hear no more of how the discussion went. There is no motive whatever to be traced for its introduction. Simply, it would appear, the writer recalled the moment that he is going to describe, he somehow remembers that they had been talking about a rite of purification.

And note, again, the amazing trouble taken to explain how there were boats enough to carry the people back over the Lake of Tiberias, on the morning after the feeding of the five thousand, though, on the evening before, there had only been one boat on the shore. The storm of the night, against which the disciples had so hardly fought, had driven them in. "The day following, when the people which

stood on the other side of the sea saw that there was none other boat there, save the one whereinto the disciples were entered, and that Jesus went not with His disciples into the boat, but that His disciples were gone away alone (howbeit there came other boats from Tiberias nigh unto the place where they did eat bread, after that the Lord had given thanks)." Yes! But what is the intimate interest of all this? None whatever, except the writer's actual interest in the way that it happened. It is a piece of personal memory, pure and simple; and serves no other end. Yet one or two of such instances are enough to dispose, finally, of the ideal and symbolic account of the Gospel's origin. There is no room for idealism or symbolism. The mere fact has its own value, to the personal experience that it embodies.

Take another instance. "It was the Feast of the Dedication, and it was winter: and Jesus walked in Solomon's Porch." The three view-points hang together. In recalling the scene, he cannot but recall the place, it was in Solomon's Porch; for there Jesus had sought shelter from the weather, for it was winter; and the reason that they were up in the winter was that it was the Feast of the Dedication, a Maccabean Feast outside the Mosaic regulations. Feast and weather go together: just as Christmas stands to us for winter, or Easter for the early spring. The Feast, in this instance, only comes in to explain the cold. And there the whole business ends. Nothing that occurs in the dispute turns on the place, or the weather, or the feast. It is simply jotted down out of the memory.

Many little notes of the kind could be given. It will be enough, perhaps, to notice the four famous spots mentioned by this Gospel alone, and otherwise forgotten, for their very insignificance. These are "Sychar," where the well of Jacob was; Bethany beyond Jordan; Ænon near to Salim; and Ephraim, to which our Lord retired after raising Lazarus. Now there is probability enough that all four places can be traced. There is evidence enough in each case to justify very reasonable suggestions. But it is not on this evidence that I would look; but simply on the fact that the writer has given these four names as the sites of scenes that he desires to recall. In no one case does the site matter. It lends no additional weight to the story. As unknown names they are not authoritative; they do nothing to enforce likelihood, and to impress belief. They are too minute and unimportant for any traditions to have taken the trouble to preserve them. If a man wanted to give emphasis or verisimilitude to his story, he would have taken names from the accepted traditions. There are many that would have done. But these four names serve no intelligible purpose at all except on one hypothesis —that the personal memory of the writer held in it details too small for history to have noted, and that it finds it absolutely impossible to tell its tale without these details of locality emerging. They are an ineradicable deposit. That is all. And the way in which they are introduced entirely corresponds with the hypothesis of their origin. They drop, without any sign of being elaborated or

forced. There is no straining at unnatural exactitude, no conscious aim at work. They drop from the pen. They are there. How else? How easy is the mention of the reason why the Baptist went to Ænon: "there was much water there." It was a place of living fountains: there is the instructive explanation which the mention of the place evokes.

The fourth chapter of the Gospel, telling of the talk with the woman of Samaria, is full of tiny characteristics of this kind. "Jesus sat thus on the well." The writer, perhaps, illustrated what he could never forget—the tired attitude of the Master, in the heat of the midday. "She left her waterpot." They saw it lying there when they returned: a very vivid touch, yet made without an effort. But still more noticeable is chapter xi, in its dwelling with precision of detail on the two days that Jesus abode still before moving; the four days that Lazarus had lain; the fifteen furlongs that lay between Bethany and Jerusalem; the exact spot outside the town where Martha met Jesus; the difference between the action of the two sisters, combined with the identity of their appeals—"Lord, if Thou hadst been here my brother had not died"; the repetition of the vehement convulsion in our Lord; the sight of the dead face bound with its separate napkin. All these details start out of the intensity of the situation and have no value except that which belongs to them as the minute moments of an engrossing dramatic episode. So, again, above all in the famous chapter ix, we find him revelling in the exactitude of fact as such.

The whole story of the blind man, and of his slow apprehension of faith, is, obviously, of unflagging interest to the recorder. It is imprinted indelibly. He dwells upon it with special delight. Yet why ? What has it to say to these ardent Gentile converts, in some heated controversy of their own day, eager over the subtle idealities of Gnostic speculation ? Its significance, its interest, belong to the hour at which it occurred, and to that alone. In its precise context, it hit, with some peculiar impact, on the growing devotion of that little band of disciples, which knew so little of all that lay ahead. It told, with some special force, on the gathering hostility of the Pharisees. To the mind of the writer, who remembered it so well, it had always appeared to be a sort of turning-point in the crisis. You could not exactly say why. That is the way of things, when personalities are concerned. For him, this incident stuck, while others, equally important perhaps, dropped out. For him, it had always seemed to be strangely typical and illustrative. He could never forget the slightest detail of it. There it was. It is his favourite story. He can never deliver his record without telling this incident at full length.

Perhaps this minute exactitude, so natural and instinctive, surpasses itself in the marvellous touches by which he records the attitude of the beloved disciple, as he threw back his head to whisper the terrible question to the Master which his friend had driven him to ask. He was already lying on the breast of Jesus, not in the most honourable though

the most favoured place at the feast ; and, in order to put the question, he had but to fling his head back upon the breast, and look up into the Master's face. This carries surely an irresistible touch of reality which is, really, final.

So again, the number of the fish caught in the famous draught is an hundred and fifty and three. If any symbolic meaning could be discovered in the figures, we should regard it as a well-known mystical manœuvre to throw out ideas in numbers. But what if no possible symbolism can be detected ? It may be still more convincing to note the unexpected statement that Simon Peter cast his coat about him, just when we might expect him to throw it off, in order to jump into the water. This is a strangely natural bit of memory of fact. He put it on : for he was naked.

And then finally, for sheer adherence to fact, there are no chapters more noticeable than those which relate, yet once again, the details of the Judgment and Crucifixion. All the Gospels are aware of the value of fact here. All set themselves to give this momentous drama at full length, and in exact detail. But the Fourth Gospel elaborately sets itself to give a more correct exactitude to the record. It explains the first hurried removal of the Prisoner to the house of Annas, the chief of the High Priest family, before His more formal examination in Sanhedrin by Caiaphas. This is done, apparently, solely for the sake of accuracy. No symbolic motive can be traced here by the keenest allegorist. The accuracy appears to be due to the special oppor-

tunities, open to the writer, of intimacy with the High Priest's house. And it is this intimacy again which enables him to supply the links by which Simon's threefold challenge came about. The maid who had opened the door to him was the first to recognise him : and to spread the suspicion to other servants in the firelight. The third attack came from a kinsman of Malchus, whose ear Simon had cut off. Each slight touch is eminently natural, and it supplies an instinctive explanation of the facts. There is moreover the precise knowledge of place : " the Pavement " known to the Jews as " Gabbatha " ; and of the reasons why the Jews could not go inside the judgment hall for fear of defilement before the Passover.

All these points are of value solely from the point of view of reality. Apart from their worth as actual details, they have no significance whatever.

Now this shows us plainly the sort of man with whom we are dealing, and the mind with which he has set himself to his task. It will be well to dwell upon this a little : for it will clear off the conventional illusions about him and his book, which still obscure from us the real state of the case.

Allow me to recall these illusions.

The tradition is strangely strong in its hold upon us, that we are here in presence of the Greek spirit, idealising the primitive Jewish Gospel. It is Alexandrian Hellenism at work (we are told), giving a transcendental valuation to the plain historical narrative of events, which the Synoptic writers

were satisfied to record. In such a treatment, the mere facts are subordinate to the speculative and theological interest. We move in the region of ideas. Our parallels, our atmosphere, are to be sought in the environment which creates a writer of the type of Philo.

Now consider, over against this conventional tradition, what we have already noted in the book. It is essentially, in its radical and constructive purpose, a deliberate return upon the actual events, upon the original story. Its primitive method of solving speculative doubt is to drive us back upon the things which once happened, upon the actual experiences of the writer. These experiences, however minute, however uneventful sometimes, however incidental and peculiar and temporary, have an inexhaustible value for him, simply in their character of living experiences. The historical details are what he clings to ; and in relating them he affects to be far more precise and scientific than the Synoptic writers. They are singularly vague and loose in their report. They seldom can fix the spot on which anything happened : or the name of the person who spoke. They can hardly ever be relied upon for the order of events. It is the writer of the Fourth Gospel who can go beyond their casual " One of the disciples said " and specify " It was Andrew," " It was Philip," " It was Thomas," " It was Judas, not Iscariot." It is he who can note the place where a word was spoken : or a work of wonder done. " This beginning of signs did Jesus in Cana of Galilee." " This is again

the second sign that Jesus did when He was come out of Judæa into Galilee." "These things said He in the synagogue as He taught in Capernaum."

Above all is he authoritative on the Judæan ministry. And here his significance is decisive. For let us remember the problem is, not how can the Synoptics be induced to allow for a ministry in Judæa preceding their own narrative in Galilee; but that they are perfectly unintelligible without it. Without the Judæan ministry they fail to account for their own story. Matthew tells us, for instance, that Jesus withdrew into Galilee, because John had been put into prison. But when had Jesus gained such prominence that He felt Himself to be the next in danger? And from *whence* was He withdrawing?

They all tell us of the continued extension of His withdrawal in the face of hostile Scribes who came down from Jerusalem, until it became a flight ever farther afield, over the Lake, into far hills, even to the frontiers of Tyre. So pressing is the peril. Meanwhile always they keep warning us of a great approach to Jerusalem for which He is nerving Himself and preparing them—an approach which they totally fail to account for. For its tragic issue is already determined; it is an approach to a City which has already pronounced against Him. Its day of visitation is past and gone. Again and again He has already attempted to win it; but in vain. Now its mind is made up against Him. He has but to challenge its settled hostility, and it will stop at nothing. It will kill. Clearly, deliberately

He can foresee every detail of the inevitable conclusion. His disciples, to whom He confides it, cannot understand or believe, but He knows it all.

Yet the whole of this vivid drama underlying the Galilean mission, and constituting its inmost pathos and its tragedy, would be unaccounted for if we had not the Fourth Gospel to interpret it.

Nor should we from the Synoptics in the least understand how it is that in this doomed city there are a few devoted adherents, on whom He can rely in the darkest hour—a family, for instance, at Bethany who will house Him ; an unnamed man who will give Him a foal to ride on, because " the Lord hath need " ; an unknown friend who, at the risk of reputation and life, still keeps a large upper chamber ready for His last Passover, and holds himself in touch by a secret code of signals ; or again Joseph of Arimathæa, loyal enough to stand when others fail. When did He knit so fast to Himself these friends and disciples ?

It cannot be too strongly said that a previous ministry in Jerusalem, of which they can give no record, is essential to the intelligibility of the three first Gospels. St. John alone gives coherence to their story.

In all this, we feel his peculiar power of standing over the usual tradition, and of freely correcting and explaining it. He knows what the others record, and puts it straight where it might mislead. All this will appear, as we go through the narrative chapter by chapter. We have only touched on it now, in order to force upon the attention the

actuality of the author's appeal to the evidence of the experience through which he had passed. This is the emphatic characteristic of his method of resolving present doubts. His cry is, "Back to the facts." Let us remember that, in the Epistle which is obviously by his hand, he singles out as the sole test of all speculation the supreme proof of all truth, the confession of "Jesus Christ come in the flesh." It is this manifestation in and through the flesh which he asserts and reiterates over against the cloudy vapourings of Gnostic idealisation. The peril against which he wars is *not* a gross and carnal materialisation of the Christ, which it is his task to lift to a higher spiritual level; but, on the contrary, a Docetist spiritualism, which shrinks from the real humanity of the Lord. It is not the Ebionite who menaces the faith; but the Gnostical Platonist. No doubt Clement and Origen spoke, in later days, of the Fourth Gospel, as an effort to correct the Gospel of the body by a Gospel of the spirit. But they themselves were Alexandrian Platonists, and regarded the Gospel with that presupposition. The actual writer is untouched by any Alexandrian tendency: and, for him, it is the coming in the *flesh*, the manifestation *through the body*, which should be forced to the front, as the true touch-stone by which all high-flying idealism should be put to proof. In that which he and the others beheld, and saw, and touched, and handled, lay the solution of all perplexities. For him, the body is itself the organ of the spirit; and the Humanity of Jesus is, itself, the manifestation of the Divine

Word. He knows nothing of Clement's implied contrast.

For indeed, and indeed, as he asserts with threefold emphasis, the " Word of God was manifested " : and they saw it, and watched it, and learned, and believed, and declared all they saw. The facts held the truth. By rehearsal of the facts he would reassure faith. By going back inside the amazing experience which had once been his, and re-enacting its actual drama, he would dissipate doubt and establish the faith, and admit into the fellowship of joy. He carried them back, in order to recover for them their footing in the Apostolic belief.

And it is just this which enables him to speak so intimately home to us, who tremble and doubt to-day. Back to Jesus, come in the flesh, back to the primary experience of what Jesus manifested Himself to be under the eyes and touch of those who saw and felt ; back to this we, too, turn. What was it in those days of intercourse which made the confidence of Apostolic faith, as recorded in the Acts, and evidenced by St. Paul, at all possible ? Could anyone take us inside that experience and enable us to understand the pressure by which it drove in upon those so circumstanced, in such close contact with it, the tremendous conclusion ? So we ask. And, at least, here is someone who professes to do this very thing for us. His dominant purpose is to exhibit how the actual facts exhibited a Word manifested through the flesh.

This emphasis on the facts belongs to the instinctive movement and method of Jewish thought,

which is the exact antithesis of all we mean by Western or Hellenic thinking. The contrast between the two starts from the tendency of the Western mind to find in reason or thought the central significance which the Jew finds in personality or will. If we consider a little the radical character of this intellectual contrast, we shall see, I think, why it is that the attitude of the Jew towards facts is so different from that of the Greek.

For, if we start from the Greek's starting-point, and take thought as the supreme determinant of reality, then the movement, inherent in our dialectic, trends inevitably away from the particular to the universal—from the facts to the law expressed through the facts. This is reason's main interest: this is its natural mode of activity. Its way is to extract or abstract the main principle which abides in all the varieties of accident or circumstance. It desires to arrive at this principle, in its ideality—in its changeless permanence. In so arriving, it flings behind it the multiplicity of the concrete, in order to present, in its detachment, the unity of the abstract. So the fact vanishes: it is only the phenomenal illustration of the law. The reality lies in the Idea. Here is the Western Hellenic method, of which what we vaguely call Platonism is the crowning example.

Now the Jew's mind works in the opposite direction. He starts from the personality—from the *will*—as his primal assumption. This was the most obvious and the most vital reality that he could discover. His direct and immediate experi-

ences all took a personal shape. Their value, their end, their happiness, their fulfilment, all turned on personal character. His interpretation of nature and history drove him straight back on the moral personality of God. In this he is the essential antithesis of the Greek, whose philosophy, for all its splendid achievement, never touched on the will ; never got a grip on the conception of personality. And what we need to notice is that, starting from will, *facts* assume at once a change of valuation. While thought dismisses facts, will finds them indispensable, for will aspires to realisation. It aims at embodying itself in acts. These acts are its goal : they are the expression and the manifestation of personal character. Character must be actualised : or else it falls short of its purpose. The more definite and precise and real the acts, the more full is its satisfaction. So the concrete, the actual, the historic, take on a new significance. The events that occur are the embodied pledges of the will that produces them. If, therefore, there are any events in which the Divine Will has expressed itself with intention, then these events are the abiding pledges of that intention—pledges to which God stands. If God ever took decided action on our behalf, then the action for ever retains its significance. His Will has precipitated itself in a fixed direction. That is done. There is no going back. Through that action, God has entered into history : and the after-consequences must turn on what was said or done then.

Hence our efforts to idealise, to universalise, to

see the fact in the light of Eternity, far from drawing our attention off the fact on to the idea which it symbolises, only fastens our attention with a more concentrated interest upon the fact within which the Divine Will is sealed. The idea is fused with the act.[1] They are one and the same. For the Idea is the Eternal Purpose which at a certain moment has flung itself out in that particular shape. There it all is ; God has acted ; and He cannot go back from His Act. The Divine venture has been made. The Divine choice has determined itself. That is what God has resolved to do ; and through that act, He lays His hands on our human story, to master its fate, to fashion and mould it. In that direction, and in that only, He has resolved to move ; through the positive channel He has released His power to help. He has done it, and there it is ; and by what He so did, we can understand Him, can grasp His meaning, can close with His intention. For ever He is the same God who has so spoken, has so sworn, has so done the great deed. If you desire to seize the actual significance, then, look closer and closer into the concrete historical facts. They hold the secret. They are, themselves, the manifestations of the universal Personality. For God is not to be conceived as the abstract unity of principle, but as a Will, that has issued in an Act. So the Spirit is known to us in the *fact*. The fact

[1] Scott (*Fourth Gospel*, p. 62) allows that John starts from an actual knowledge of the earthly life of Jesus, and the conception of the Logos is always blended in his mind with the impression left on him by the Person.

abides transfigured by the Divine Immanence. The Personal Will of man closes with the personal Will of God through the permanent fact which embodies God's intention and releases His purpose.

Our writer, then, is an idealist; but this term does not mean for him what it suggests to us. Our favourite antithesis of the "kernel and the husk" would be unintelligible to him. For him the intensity of the spiritual significance adds force and reality to the event in which it is embodied. What he has to declare is that God's Will has taken action, and taken action decisively and for ever. In that action, so taken once and for all, lies the key to the whole relationship which God has assumed towards man. In it and by it He has brought into play upon the human story His uttermost resources of energy and love.

And what the action precisely was, he, the writer, is in a position to rehearse.

"We have seen it and bear witness and show unto you that Eternal Life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us: that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you."

The heart of the whole matter, for him, lies there. *Back to the facts!* Therein lies safety!

Nor is it only in this intensity of his grip on *facts* that he exhibits his profound aloofness from anything that we mean by Alexandrian idealism: but his actual mind exhibits the same antithesis to Hellenism and to Platonic speculation. It is hardly possible to conceive a more radical contrast, in

style, or type, or method. By Hellenism we understand a mode of thought that works through analysis, through induction, through the unravelling of sequences. It aims at laying the process of thought open: it exhibits the order by which it passed from premises to conclusion. It is, above all things, rational, explanatory, continuous. It follows a matter through its stages: it gives the syllogistic evolution. It dissects, connects, co-ordinates, correlates. It is the triumphant exhibition of the discursive reason.

But our author never argues, never co-ordinates, never dissects and unravels. Neither his style nor his thought suggests continuity. He omits all connections; and discloses no inward logical movement. His mode of presentation is not excursive and explanatory, but intuitional, abrupt, assertive, cataclysmic. Single, living, vivid phrases leap out, like stars. They stand there, as fixed points. Emphasis is given them, not by elucidation, but by reiteration. It is the child's method of making a thing emphatic by threefold repetition. "He confessed, and denied not, but confessed." The fact which is brought before us is to be held, faced, contemplated, brooded over, until its reality passes into us. It cannot be analysed, or transposed into logical argumentation. It can only be repeatedly presented from this side and from that, so that the thought may perpetually recur to it in some slightly varying context. So the meaning grows. The intensive impression gains ever new intensity. The words assume the force of personalities that we

are in living contact with. But positive argument there is none.

In all this, then, the author shows himself to be a Jew of Jews. In the cast and quality of his mind he exhibits every typical characteristic of his race. His thought has their antiphonal vibration. It reverberates. It works by reiterated refrains. It has the beat of a big bell in it—as of sounds that circle round and round a central point. "Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you." The very pulse of the Old Testament can be felt there, in that brooding musical utterance—and almost any passage in the great chapters of discourses would supply equally convincing instances. No one can possibly mistake the Hebraistic tone, with its poetical parallelism, and its abrupt transitions. "I am the Bread of Life; your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness and are dead. This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever."

Nor can we be surprised to find that such a Jew as this is steeped and saturated through and through with the Jewish Scriptures. His imagination is wholly held within their frontiers. His phraseology knows no other world. Every symbol, every allusion, every metaphor that he uses runs back to this one source. Shepherd, vine, dove, spouse, bread, wind, water: the contrasted pairs in which life's antithesis is summed, life and death, light and

darkness, love and hate; all these are notes of a mind over which the Old Testament holds an instinctive and spontaneous and lifelong sway. Its presence, its mastery, is to be felt underlying every phrase. And no other literary influence touches the author. The whole book throbs with the very soul of Hebraism.

And what, then, has Greek speculation done for this Jew? What sign is there of the effect of its philosophic idealism upon him? Certainly, it must have been at work all round him. He must have heard its language and have brooded over its discussions. He probably desired to present his own convictions in a form which might attract and absorb the intellects of those about him, who were immersed in such discussions. This may, possibly, have determined his use of the term λόγος to explain his own ideal. But so far as he himself went, there is no sign in the book that Greek speculation ever won its way inside him. It never reached him; it never coloured or qualified his outlook upon life. It never affected the structure or the working of his mind.

We can test this by recognising that the central problem of Hellenic speculation, round which all its original Greek and its later oriental development turned, did not for him exist.

For what is that problem? The solution of the dualism involved in the inherent dichotomy of thought. Thought cannot apprehend reality except in the form of an antithesis, which perpetually reappears. It is the antithesis between the Absolute

and the Relative, between the Infinite and the Finite ; between the Universal and the Particular ; between Subject and Object ; between Mind and Matter.

That antithesis is the challenge which Hellenic speculation formulated. Philosophy was, and is, the everlasting effort to transcend it. The two terms stand over against one another in interminable and unqualified opposition. How can the gulf be bridged ? How can the twain come together ?

Platonism in all its forms strained to discover a mode of mediation. Gnosticism elaborated the gradations of the transition, hoping, by complication of evolutionary stages, to effect the passage. Mysticism strove to rise above the level of the antithesis to a higher unity in which it was fused and lost.

But for our writer all this effort is meaningless. For him, there is no such gulf to be bridged. The Infinite finds no bar set to its immediate contact with the Finite. On the contrary, their natural state presupposes intimacy of relationship. God loves the world. God is in the world. The world naturally responds to God, lives and moves and breathes in God. We have not in the least to puzzle ourselves with the question how God and man could ever come together ; or how the Spirit does not shrink from the flesh ; or by what means the material can be reconciled with the spiritual reality. For him there is no metaphysical dilemma to be solved. It never strikes

him that the slightest obstruction ought theoretically to exist.[1]

True, there is a wide breach, a severance, which it will need an infinite act of Divine condescension to remove. But the very horror of the severance is that it is profoundly unnatural. It is itself a violence done to theoretical truth. The tragedy of the drama to be unfolded is that such a severance, so fatally at variance with all anticipation, so abnormally defiant of the reality of fact, should actually have occurred. Who could have believed it? God "was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and yet the world," by some strange perversity, "knew Him not." "He came unto His own": to those who were already knit to Him by every bond of intimacy and affection: and it was "His own" who "received Him not." There is then no necessity to build some bridge by which God could bring Himself to pass across to that which was utterly foreign to Him. It is not foreign to Him. It cannot be imagined as remote from Him, as uncongenial, as inadequate, as unworthy. Its very existence testifies to its worth in His sight. It is the product of His love. There is nothing which He has not made; and it is easy and obvious for the mind to conceive that He made it. There is no recoil, no intellectual jar, at imagining God concerned with matter; at His issuing, in creative action, outside the circuit of His own ideality; or

[1] There is a limitation: "No man hath seen God." But this limitation is due to man's nature. There is no difficulty on God's side.

at His spending Himself on that which is below the conditions of the eternal energy. Creation had always been a normal thought to the Jew. It started no metaphysical problem in his mind. It provoked no demand for rational justification. It seemed to him the simplest truism, to which his reason spontaneously adhered. And it possesses the like naturalism and validity to the writer of the Fourth Gospel.

The problem for him begins lower down. How was this unity between God and man, between Spirit and matter, between the Infinite and the finite, ever broken? and if broken, how could the terrible disunion be repaired? There is the one crucial problem with which he is concerned; and its very urgency testifies to the inherent normality of that primal union, the breach of which was so significant a disaster. Into the drama of its solution he throws all his concentrated force; and it is the triumph of this *moral* restoration which he sums up in the cardinal phrase, "The Word became Flesh," and "dwelt among us."

"The Word became Flesh." In this expression and phrase we find the main arguments which represent this Gospel as intimately interested in Hellenic idealism and its metaphysical dilemmas. Yet let us consider closely the context, and the mode in which the expression is introduced. On what is the writer's mind intent? Where does his emphasis lie? Let us see!

In the opening verses of the book, where the expression first appears, he is not arguing for a

doubtful, speculative position, but asserting a familiar truth. Nor does he speak as if there were intellectual difficulties in the way which he is anxious to dispose of, or as if his hearers were beset with metaphysical troubles to which he has got the key. Rather he is appealing to that which they will one and all accept. He makes a series of statements, which are the natural premises of Revelation, as he and they understand it : and his object in doing so does not lie so much in the intrinsic value of the statements themselves, as in the heightened intensity which they give to the tragedy which he is engaged in relating. The tragedy is the rejection of Jesus Christ by the Jews ; and in them by the world. He is leading up to the tragic break.

" The Light shines ; and shines in darkness."

" He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and yet this world that was made by Him knew Him not." " He came unto His own, and it was His own who received Him not." Round this awful fact he hovers and broods. Back and back to it he returns, in solemn refrains. That is the terrific fact which he cannot escape from ; and which he is to expound.

And in order to lift it into its highest pathos, in order to accentuate its tragic import, he recalls to his hearers the great assumption which creates its overmastering significance.

This " Light," which only found a hostile darkness in which to shine—what was it ? Think of it ! It was the Light of all light, " the one essential Light ; it was that unkindled Light which is itself also the

very Life of all our life. It was the inner reality and energy of all things that ever exist. It was the substantial Force of God, the Creator, which has an eternal personality of its own in God. It was that which he had been taught to sum up in the term, so Biblical, so deep-lying, of 'the Word.' This Word, as we all know, was in the beginning, and was one with God in the beginning: and was Itself what God is. That is the Word of which we are thinking; that and nothing less than that. Yet, though it was all that; though it had been in the world always, and had made the world; though it was the true light, which lighteneth every man; nevertheless, as I say, when He came unto His own, His own received Him not."

This is the nature of the emphasis in these passages; and we see that this emphasis is gained by the obviousness of the great truth, which wins its weight just by its freedom from all intellectual hesitation. He does not write as if his hearers were in the least agitated as to how God made the world, and what was the instrumental agency of the Divine creation. They are not waiting for a solution to be given them which will clear up their dialectical confusion. On the contrary, the writer is perfectly sure of a cordial and spontaneous assent. Of course God made the world. Of course it is all His creation. Of course the creative Word of God lies in the Bosom of the Father. That is his and their common and indisputable faith.

How terrible, then, the disaster which, nevertheless, became an actual fact under our very eyes!

He came down among us : and we would not have Him.

And, if this was the disaster, how overwhelming also was the discovery of what it was that God was doing for its Redemption ! For there were those who *did* recognise, who did receive, the Light when it shined. And what was it which they found to be theirs ?

They found, first, that they themselves were the subjects of an entire transfiguration, by which they passed out of an old state into a new. And there was nothing in the old state which would account for what had happened to them. It could not be interpreted as a development, or growth. They might search in vain within the physical basis of life, the blood, for an adequate cause of the change : or within the power of their privileged condition after the flesh, as children of Abraham ; or within the force of their own individual will to follow after righteousness, or hunger and thirst for the living God.

No : these were much ; but they could not arrive at this novel level of authority of which they discover themselves to be possessed—they were indeed reborn. They lived and moved as sons of God ; born " not of the blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man," but born " of God."

And this transmutation was practically possible, for one reason only—because there was found dwelling among them, to be beheld and to be apprehended, the illuminative presence of God Himself,

the very glory by which God issues in self-manifestation. It was there; they saw it. It told upon them; it smote in upon them, in its double activity as life and as light. It brought to bear upon them everything that could ever go to complete the perfection of grace and truth.

For it was "the Word"—that very Word whom we knew to have been in the beginning and to have been with God, and to be God, of whom are all things that have been made, and without whom nothing could ever be made—it was the same Word that had made Himself Man, even a Man among men.

"The Word became Flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory—the glory as of God Himself." So he pleads and records.

"The Word became Flesh." Would it ever have been conceivable that an Alexandrian Platonist could have arrived at such a phrase, and not given some signal of the surprise, of the shock, of the recoil that it would cause? Must he not have inevitably, instinctively prepared his hearers for it, shown himself aware of what they would be feeling, recognised the immediate necessity for apology, for explanation, for justification?

But as it occurs, in its context, it suggests no jar, no intellectual difficulty whatever. It is introduced not as if it required justification itself, but rather as an illuminative explanation of that amazing inward transmutation in man of which he is speaking. He and others with him had become aware of a change worked within them, of which

no adequate cause could be found within the circuit of human capacities. But the sufficient cause was found at once in the vital union of the Word of God with the Flesh of Man. If such a fact had occurred, the new possibilities of which they were conscious were accounted for.

And the fact had occurred. That is what he and they alike slowly detected, and apprehended. "It was there: and we watched it"; it was the Glory of God.

The *moral* wonder was immense, but there is no sign of any violence being done to the reason—no fresh intellectual question is started by the novel solution so announced. It appears to commend itself, without friction, without hesitation. The coming together of God and flesh suggests, rather, the exultant acquiescence of Adoration. "We beheld His Glory, the Glory as of the only begotten Son of God."

So he records his own experience, and the Old Testament language into which the record falls reveals at once to us the heart of the Jew: this coming together of the Word and the flesh had always been the natural consummation of his hopes. Always the Jew had dreamed of some tabernacling of God with men: of some indwelling among them when they should indeed be visibly and virtually His people and He should be their God. Always he had looked for this Shechinah of the Divine Presence, of this spiritual Fatherhood that would give them a new heart, and make them sons of God indeed. Always he had prayed that all flesh might

see this Glory—that in his flesh he might rise again upon his feet, as the creative Breath of God passed into him. No metaphysics troubled this dream; no intellectual gulf yawned between God and man that could not be crossed. So the soul of the Jew, concentrated on the personal moral problem of how the heart of stone could ever be changed into a heart of flesh, had always pondered and brooded and desired.

And here was a Jew, alive with a Jew's anticipation, travelling along the line of Jewish prophecy, who discovered the traditional desire to have been verified, the immemorial prayer to be fulfilled. Lo! It was done, what they hoped for. "The Word was made Flesh." "Then were we like unto them that dream," "we beheld His Glory." [1]

[1] It is fortifying to be able to quote the following passage in which Professor Drummond gives his own verdict on the matter:

"The style, as we have seen, is not constructed upon Greek models. If we except a few lines of the Proem, the thought moves throughout in a wholly different region, and the characteristic problems *of Greek philosophy are passed by in silence.* With the exception of the word λόγος, the terminology of the schools is absent; and λόγος is a term which is found in the LXX. If we take only the designations of the Supreme Being, and compare their paucity and simplicity with the rich variety and philosophical flavour of those used by Philo, we must be struck with the difference. This difference is all-pervading. If we omit the first few verses, I cannot recall to mind a *single* passage where the mode of expression even suggests the thought that the writer must have been reading Greek philosophy. It is needless to say that direct allusions and quotations are entirely wanting. Where, then, is the evidence of Greek philosophical training? Simply in the theory which is sketched in such broad outlines in the Proem, and in the doctrine of the Logos, which contains some Stoical elements, but has not a trace of the characteristic

"We *beheld*!" This is his ground and motive for writing. It is his own personal adherence to the actual and experienced fact which is the sum and substance of this Gospel. He appears to have judged that the best security that he can give his Greek hearers against the snaring subtleties of a philosophy so foreign to his own, was to draw out

Stoical vocabulary. This seems to point to a man who had been without philosophical training, but through the necessities of his position had been brought into living contact with the problems of his time, and under the impulse of spiritual genius had struck out some grand lines of thought, which might be afterwards developed into a philosophy. This latter process had already begun in the time of Justin the philosopher and martyr, whose philosophical training is manifest, and who tries to throw around the soaring ideas of inspiration the network of philosophy, and force them into the cage of scholastic dogma. But the writer of the Gospel follows a different method. He does not define, and elaborate, and prove by a disciplined dialectic, but places before us, as it were, a series of spiritual pictures, which every man may interpret according to the measure of soul which is in him. In the doctrine of the Logos he seems to place himself between Jews and Greeks, and to appropriate a common term as the expression of a uniting faith. It is as though he said, You Greeks behold in Christ the consummate Reason, that Reason of which I have so often heard you speak, which dwells eternally with God, and in which you have seen the Divine basis of the Universe and the indwelling light of man; you Jews behold in Him that Word of God which spake to your fathers, and was handed down in your Scriptures, but for you who believe is no longer inscribed in tables of stone or of parchment, but of flesh. If we combine with these considerations the evidence of the author's Judaic training, on which we have already dwelt, I think we shall see that the book itself points to a Palestinian Jew who in later life was brought into some sort of loose contact with current modes of thought among the Greeks. This is precisely what the traditional account would lead us to expect."—*The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, James Drummond, p. 418.

at length the process by which he and the others had, stage by stage, arrived at the great conclusion which he has just formulated. So we will tell the old story of their discovery—of how they learned to behold.

"We beheld His Glory." Yes! but not at once. Not at a stroke. Not without difficulty. Not without relapses, and struggles, and fears, and doubt, and failure, and peril.

He has stated, at the start, this full conclusion; and he has given to that conclusion all the emphasis and all the significance that a long life of developed experience and brooding meditation has slowly learned to put into it. He has rehearsed to his disciples the final and uttermost form in which the gradual conviction has found its complete expression.

"The Word became Flesh and we beheld His Glory, the Glory as of the Only Son of God."

Now he will convey them through the slow process, in all its anxious stages, by which he and his friends reached this astounding result. He will record the growth of the Apostolic faith. That is the purpose of the book. Yes! and he must also record, over against the growth of faith, a pitiful failure to see what they saw. For, side by side with this, another process went forward; another conviction was formed. That was the terrible fact that again and again staggered their own timid belief.

This Word of God "came unto His own, and His own received Him not." This counter-process had

an absorbing interest for the writer, almost as deep as the parallel growth of belief. The refrain of that disastrous failure haunts him. His Gentile converts seem to find it incredible. It is hard not to feel that he regards it as casting a sort of discreditable shadow on his Lord, which he labours to remove. "His own received Him not." Is not this rejection a slur? Does it not suggest some weakness in Him who so dismally fails just there where He ought to succeed? The disaster counts against Him. It weighs on our spirits; it stings as a retort. The writer is sensitive to this, just as he is to the apparent reflection upon His Master's judgment, shown by Judas's betrayal. He is anxious to explain and justify, lest a flavour of discredit hang about. So he sets himself to interpret and to reason out the motive and causes of this National Rejection.

Like the Faith, it did not come about at a stroke. It had an inner story; it had a growth; it had stages and moments, and crises; and secret sources; and reactions, and gradual decisions. Into all these he will go. For indeed this failure, this rejection, belongs as intimately to the Gospel as the victory of faith. In rehearsing his ultimate summary of the Incarnation, he must include as a vital element, to which his long experience has borne witness, the fact that when "He came unto His own, His own received Him not," just as much as the fact that they who received beheld His Divine Glory.

For what is the truth made manifest in the Flesh-taking of the Word?

It is the truth of the Divine Judgment.[1]

The coming of Christ is the judgment of the world. "For judgment am I come." "Now is the prince of this world judged." "The Father hath communicated all judgment unto the Son." "This is the judgment, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light." Over and over again, the book comes back upon this theme. Over and over again, it explains how this judgment was inevitable, even though Christ came not to judge but to save. He did not judge; but yet His presence forced a decision; and by that decision men could not but be judged. In that decision they revealed how they stood to the Father who judgeth; and how to Moses. "I judge no man." "But had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed Me." "He that rejecteth Me hath one that judgeth him; for I have not spoken of Myself." "As I hear, I judge: and My judgment is just." "He that is of God heareth God's words; ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God."

Here is the mystery of that terrible drama which the author bends all his powers to unravel. The light comes for blessing: but it cannot be there without throwing the shadow; without revealing the dark places. The brighter the light, the blacker the shadows. The pressure of the Blessed Presence forces the will to disclose its secret choice. The manifestation of the Word in the Flesh, dwelling

[1] See note on the Philosophy of Belief and Unbelief, Appendix, p. 150.

among us, includes and involves the awful sifting, the tense agony of separation between man and man.

Two men may be grinding at one mill: and one will be taken, and the other left. This is what he will note: this is what he will minutely and accurately display. Step by step, point by point, we shall watch men swept into the fierce light that brings every secret thing into judgment.

Now, in all this, whether it be the growth of their faith or of the counter-conviction, which is being tracked, the Book (it will be noticed) finds its dominant and controlling interest on the *subjective* rather than on the *objective* side. It does not start from the dogmatic view of what our Lord is, but from the psychological interest of how His first disciples learned to know what He is, and how His own people failed to discover it. We can see how dominant this purpose is by considering the moment at which he thinks it important to begin his Gospel, and the moment at which he is prepared to close it.

(1) He does not begin with the moment that would be most vital, if he was thinking out his story from our Lord's side. If so, he would have begun with the story of the birth, of which he shows himself perfectly aware, or of the baptism by John, which he incidentally refers to. But he begins, on the contrary, with the first movement which led the earliest disciples to have faith in Him. It was that most memorable hour, which no years could ever efface from the tablets of his heart, when two

disciples of John heard him say the words which became the turning-point of their lives. These two were Andrew and himself.

There was a crisis down there by Jordan. A recoil and disappointment had overshadowed them. They had all heard him, whom they had half-believed to be Messiah Himself, disclaim the title. He had himself shattered their hopes, in his own brave, downright way. The Apostles can never forget the shock, and the admiration for him who had the courage to give the shock. So he tries to convey the deep impression by his favourite method of threefold repetition. This is the record of John, when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask, "Who art thou?" and he confessed; he denied not, but confessed, "I am not the Christ."

We can still feel, in the reiteration, the profound emotion with which those who had given themselves to the sway of this masterful personality listened to his great repudiation. It was in the suspense of this recoil that they heard the word with which he greeted a stranger who was silently crossing the scene. That was their first sight of Him who was to become their Master. It was a sight and no more. He made no sign. He did not speak. Nothing happened. But they had seen Him. The next day, He passed again in silence. And again John cried, "Behold the Lamb of God." This time, the two were resolved to act. They followed the retreating figure. At this He turned, and spoke. It was perfectly simple. "What seek ye?" Andrew, who always had an instinct how to act in

an emergency, said, "Rabbi, where dwellest Thou?" He said, "Come and see." They went and saw where He dwelt. "They abode that day." "It was about the tenth hour." Nothing more.

Now it is impossible to read these words without recognising that their significance belongs to them solely because they represent the personal record of the first experience of a disciple. There is no other motive or interest. Nothing is told about the Master—what He said, what He taught, what He was. But the precise minuteness of the tiny details, so unimportant in themselves, convey the intensity of a vivid personal memory. They are there for no other purpose. The fact that it was "the day after" when John repeated his cry, that the disciples abode one day with the Master, that it was about the tenth hour when they got in, etc. —all this is absolutely unmeaning in a Gospel which confesses to having carefully selected its material out of much more that it could have told, except as the incidental items embedded in the memory of one who can never forget the day that he first saw Him, and the hour at which he first entered the house with Him.

And the rest of the chapter carries on the same motive. It is written as if from a diary. "The next day." "The day after." And its interest is absorbed, not in the Lord, but in the way by which His first group of disciples found themselves His.

It drops out the brief notes which hint so much more—how, e.g., both Andrew and John had for their first instinct the bringing of Cephas, or,

perhaps, how each sought his own brother, and how Andrew found his brother first; how Philip, who was always slow in the up-take, had to be found by the Master Himself, known to Him apparently through Andrew and Cephas, who belonged to the same village, Bethsaida; how Philip accepted the ordinary name which everybody gave the Master, without feeling the shock which any thoughtful Israelite would be bound to feel at hearing of any Messianic hope that had come out of Nazareth; how his friend Nathanael at once raised the natural difficulty, and how Philip had no answer to make but fell back on the simplest resource, "Come and see"; how Nathanael, recognised by the Master as the perfect type of a spiritual Israelite, let all his scruples go, and broke out in that salutation, which so characteristically gave a higher emphasis to the title "King of Israel" than to the vaguer title, "Son of God." To him, at that stage, it was no bathos to confess, "Rabbi, Thou are not only 'Son of God,' Thou art greater yet: Thou art the 'King of Israel.'" Such a climax would be inconceivable when once the title "Son of God" had received its Christian meaning. So exactly can the temper be reproduced of those first moments in which, one by one, each according to his personal bent, they passed over into that companionship which was to be, for them, eternal Life.

(2) So the Gospel begins; and as it begins, so it ends. It ends, not with the final climax of the Lord's life on earth, but with the crowning act of the Apostles' belief in Him. It is still written from

their side. It records how they found their way to perfect faith. Its tale, therefore, can fitly close in the confession of faith by which the last vestige of doubt broke and vanished, as Thomas, the disciple whose cloud of doubt had been deepest, delivered himself of the complete summary of all that they were led to apprehend, "My Lord and my God."

With that commemoration the story can close; that is the witness for which it has been written. It has told the growth of an Apostle's faith, from its germs to its articulate conclusion. Even though there are so many things that might be told, enough has been said to achieve the purpose with which the selection has been made. "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through His Name."

True, by the pressure of strong persuasions, he is induced, after all, to add one more section. But this addition only corroborates what has been said. Its interest is personal. It belongs to the disciple's own experience. Its importance, its intensity, all come from this. It is not added in order to tell what was the ultimate action of the Master, but in order to give the final memories that link Cephas and John together in Him—to tell what He said of *their* after-lives, and to make quite clear what exactly He did say about His coming again before John should die. Our eyes, our thoughts, are on the two friends, linked so intimately, and on Philip and Andrew and Thomas, whom we have followed so long, and whom the hearers, perhaps, knew;

and, above all, on this old man, who is, surely, so near to death; and yet who, as we thought, was not to die. Will he really die, the very last of them all? It looks like it: yet, if so, what about the Master's own word? Well, that word never quite said that he should not die. It only hinted that he might not have to die. That was all, and we cannot yet say which it will be.

So the book ends, with an apology for having been drawn into adding even this much. If the writer were to write all he remembered there would be no end to his reminiscences.

It is the story of the Apostle's own growth in faith then that he has set himself to recall and to reassert. This is the secret and dominant motive which throughout determines his own interest, and the interest of his hearers, in the particular materials that he selects. For this end, he will fling himself back across the intervening years, out of circumstances strangely remote, into the hidden and unuttered emotions of those first days. He will reproduce the smallest incidents that bear upon the personal characteristics of the disciples in their relationship to one another or to the Master. Thus, it is only through him that we find ourselves inside the Apostolic circle, and know the men apart, and their special ties to one another. It is curious how entirely the Synoptics fail in this. Except Simon Peter, we know no one individually. They are simply "the Twelve." But the Fourth Gospel notes them apart, and takes a peculiar concern in several who are obviously of some special interest

to its readers, so that their mutual relationships are fascinating for their own sakes.

Thus it is assumed that the tiniest details of how Cephas contrived to ask John the question at the Last Supper will be sure to enthral; or of how John managed to help Cephas to get into the High Priest's hall; of how they ran together to the empty tomb, the one outrunning the other, and yet waiting outside until the other overtook him and went first inside.

So, again, he notes the habitual readiness of Andrew; and the lack of initiative in Philip; and how the two played over into each other. So the Lord has to specially rouse Philip to a sense of the situation, when the starved multitudes had to be fed on the hills, just as He had to find him at the first. Yet Andrew is quick with his practical suggestion, to balance Philip's blankness. (There *is* a lad!) And there is felt to be so much lying behind the wonderful verse which tells how Philip, paralysed by his amazement at the request of the outside strangers to "see Jesus," turns in his perplexity to Andrew, who always knows what to do; and then the two together pluck up courage to go to the Master and tell Him of these Greeks.

Again, he allows us to understand Thomas, with his passionate devotion clouded by his depression.

And, above all, he opens to us something of the secret history of Judas. Do we remember enough that in the other records the betrayal is left totally unaccounted for? It bursts upon us without an attempt at a reason for it. Judas is a blind enigma. The Fourth Gospel allows us to track the first germ

of the treachery as well as to detect its ultimate momentum. The last point is most noticeable, for it goes behind the remarkable connection established in the Synoptic story between the protest of the Apostles at the waste of the two hundred pence by the woman with the alabaster box of ointment at the feast in Bethany, and the sequent offer of Judas to the High Priests to betray. The two events seem to have been separated by an interval of two days ; but there was something which knit the two together in the imagination of those who framed the Gospel story, so that they felt forced to tell them without a break. The Fourth Gospel alone tells us what this link was. It was Judas who led the protest at the feast. He was responsible for the common purse : and for the charities to the poor. He held a prominent position : he was at the heart of that ascetic " communism " which had almsgiving as its central motive. It was in his indignation at the outrage done to charity by the personal claim of our Lord that he came to his final determination ; and his bargaining over the thirty pieces of silver could not but contrast vividly with his vehemence against the woman's loving recklessness.

But the seed of the treachery lay far back. It was to be found in the day of the great recoil, when the Master threw away His splendid opportunity in Galilee, and, on the morrow of the day when the crowd had been ready to make Him a King, had not only scattered the triumphant enthusiasm, but also had broken up the confidence of His closer friends. Even the Twelve felt the tremor of the reaction.

The Master, who always knew "what was in man," was aware of it, and turned on them with the challenge, "Will ye also go away?" The ardour of Cephas effected the recovery, and swept the ten others along with it, in the confession of blind trust in Him who alone had words of eternal life. But one hung back and refused adhesion: and the Master was at once conscious of what was hidden in that sullen silence. "One of you is a devil." "For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were who believed not, and who should betray Him." "He spake of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon: for he it was who should betray Him, being one of the Twelve."

From that hour Judas had passed into the position of a recalcitrant critic: and to criticise our Lord is, in the author's mind, equivalent to unbelief. ("Neither did His brethren believe on Him," for they passed adverse judgment on His policy.) Judas, the solitary Judæan, had a better right than Galilean fishermen to know the lines on which a Messiah should work. He had given himself heart and soul to a master who was now, in his judgment, betraying the cause. From that hour, his own counter-betrayal had become the inevitable close. The challenge, "Will ye also go away?" was carried to its uttermost in the final appeal made by the Master, to his friendship, to his honour, to his truth, as He handed him the sop, the pledge of confidence, over the table to which He had summoned on His death-night those whom He would call friends, to give them the last seal of His love. At the reiterated refusal to

respond to the appeal, " the devil " which our Lord had detected at its first entry (" One of you is a devil ") completed its possession. There is nothing more that can be done to win him back from the fatal resolution—" What thou doest, do quickly."

" And he went out."

Yet the writer of the book, in spite of an almost personal horror against the man, which breaks out in his protest against Judas's apparent pity for the poor (" This is said not because he loved the poor, but because he carried the bag and stole what was put in it "), confesses that not one of them really suspected him at the time. When the Master told them that one of them was betraying Him, no one had Judas in his mind. They were just as ready to suspect themselves as him. Even when he left the room to do it, they never thought of anything sinister, but fancied that the Master had sent him on one of his usual missions, either to buy something for the feast or to give something to the poor. Only, he makes us aware of the cloud that lifted as he disappeared. The Master, who had been vehemently shaken with bodily horror while still the hand of Judas was with Him on the table, now broke out, as if released from a grave hindrance—" Therefore, when he was gone out Jesus said, Now is the Son of Man glorified and God is glorified in Him."

And still we feel his anxiety to clear the Master of any imputation of sharing in *their* ignorance. This surely is the motive with which he reiterates the evidence that he can recall of the Lord's foreknowledge of the deed. It is not in idle exaltation

of His superhuman character that he dwells on it : it is in order to clear Him of any aspersion. Therefore he records how He had said, " And ye are clean, but not all. For He knew who should betray Him : therefore He said, Ye are not all clean." And again, " I speak not of you all. I know whom I have chosen." And moreover He Himself had foreseen what a relief it would afterwards be to their stricken faith to recognise that He had not been ignorant. " Now I tell you before it is come to pass, that when it is come to pass ye may believe that I am He."

We are inside the very atmosphere within which the shock of the betrayal had taken place, when they first became aware of what had been going on in their very midst unperceived. They had lived with him as a brother and had never known what he was at ; and it had been so strange, as he looks back now, to remember that he had never known. And yet the Master had made this their surprising ignorance to be itself a means by which they will be the better confirmed in their assurance of His supreme Reality.

There are other instances in this Gospel of the same power to recall the surprising things that they were ignorant of as they saw, or heard, or did them. And these bear so closely on the author's capacity to distinguish between his actual experience at the moment and his after-reflection upon it, that it may be well to notice them here.

There was the word about the Temple being destroyed and raised in three days. At the time they

somehow never noted it. But afterwards, "when He was risen from the dead, His disciples remembered that He had said this unto them; and they believed the Scriptures, and the word which Jesus had said."

And there is a yet more remarkable instance. The Synoptic tradition had vividly grasped and transmitted the famous picture of Zechariah, which had been marvellously realised on the day when the disciples had borne the Lord in triumph to Zion, riding, amid honour, on the foal of an ass. No fulfilment of an ancient word has more firmly fixed itself on the Church's imagination than this. But the author of our Gospel nevertheless assures us that at the moment they none of them knew what they were doing. Prophecy moved with them: but they were unaware of it. As so often, in historic moments, the actors in them are the last to perceive the significance of their action, so it had been then: "These things understood not His disciples at the first: but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of Him, and that they had done these things unto Him."

That is as *natural* as it is astonishing. The *naïveté* of the confession carries conviction with it. And it is no less interesting to note the first surprise of the disciples at that wonderful gift of reading men's secret minds, which was so profoundly characteristic of Jesus. It was at their earliest visit to Jerusalem with Him, when everything appeared to them to be so favourable. Crowds

came about Him. Belief seemed in the air. No shadow lowered. Yet He would not trust Himself to it. He held back. It seemed strange: but, afterwards, they saw how accurately He had gauged the worth of the crowd's enthusiasm (John ii. 23, 24). "Now when He was in Jerusalem at the Passover . . . many believed in His Name, when they saw the miracles that He did. But Jesus did not commit Himself unto them, because He knew all men, and needed not that any should testify of man; for He knew what was in man."

That was an experience which the disciples passed through. They were disappointed; and then found that He was right. Only gradually did they apprehend the depth of His insight into human nature: but as they learned more of Him, they discovered that He was never at fault.

There are two moments recorded when we are made to feel the questions working in them, which nevertheless they did not dare to ask. Once with the woman of Samaria. "They marvelled that He talked with a woman. Yet no man said, What seekest Thou? or, Why talkest Thou with her?" They could not bring themselves to it, somehow: but the very abstention implies how strong was the desire.

So again, on the morning of the appearance of the Risen Lord by the Lake, we are carried inside the silence which is afraid to ask for a justification of its trembling conviction. "And none of the disciples durst ask Him, Who art Thou? knowing that it was the Lord." They knew: yet they could not trust

this knowledge. It was so incredible. They longed to inquire and to receive a confirmation. Yet this longing was itself a criticism on what they knew. Why, then, should it be there ? For, surely, they knew. Yet, if they knew, why want to ask ? So the inward conflict worked : it gave no outward sign : yet we are admitted within it.

There is yet another stray touch, which, though dropped out incidentally, admits us, at a stroke, inside the secret processes which went to create the first Apostolic faith. It records how, at a certain period of stress and anxiety, when there was much to daunt their trust in the Master, whose fate was darkening every day, He, probably on purpose, led them back to the old spot where the work of their conversion had first been done upon their souls. It was in Bethany beyond Jordan where John had baptized. Once there, in the familiar spot, in sight of the river and the reeds, the power of the place told upon them. The memory of the man, who had meant so much, swung back upon them. He had gone under, so swiftly, and also his work had been swept away at a stroke. But the vivid impression left by him returned, through the influence of the unforgotten scene. And, as the remembrance of him was recalled, it lent its reassuring witness to Him whom they now followed so tremblingly. The contrast between the two workers shot into sudden prominence : yet, with the contrast, grew the recognition of their intimate harmony, and faith recovered its shaken footing.

They said, " John did no miracle ; but all things

that John spake of this man were true. And many believed on Him there."

That is a touch which is as subtle as it is natural. It holds in its brief episode all the instinctive movements of memory and reflection which the sight of an old scene would revive by immediate associations. The reader is left to go behind the words, and to understand why, in that spot, it was so natural to recall that "John did no miracle." [1]

All this shows the writer's hold over his memory. He can distinguish, in spite of all the long reflection that has intervened between the past and what he has come to think about the past. We can, in some instances, as in chapter iii, detect with fair certainty where he leaves his actual record in order to pass to his own expansion of its meaning. So with Nathanael's confession. When he wrote no one would have tolerated the order "Thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Israel." The anti-climax would violently jar: it would defeat its own purpose: it would be unintelligible. How is it that it can spring to light out of the recesses of the writer's memory, unchanged and unmodified? Or, again, there is the historic title which was habitually used for our Lord during all His earthly ministry—"Rabbi." No other name crossed their lips, in domestic intercourse. It was the name of devotion, of honour, of affection. It had in it all the clinging associations of those undying days spent with Him, as they ate and drank and went in and out with Him.

[1] A page of type is missing here; the substance is supplied from an analysis.

Everything conspired to hallow the name with the tenderest and deepest emotions. Yet, at the Resurrection, it passed utterly away. It was uttered for the last time in the cry of the Magdalene, in the garden of the empty tomb : " Rabboni ! " Never again was it possible to bring down their faith in the Risen Lord to the proportions of that dear and familiar salutation. Yet here, in spite of all that the years had done to erase it, in spite of all the transcendent value of his higher creed, the writer can return to the familiar use with absolute ease. For him, in the story, the Lord of Glory is still no more than " Rabboni."

Obviously, he is able, when he chooses, to recapture that which was gone from him ; and to deliver his witness undiscoloured.

Everybody knows how systematically he excludes from the entire tale the peculiar name which he has specially chosen by which to embody his sense of the significance of our Lord's Personality. He may place it at the head of his Gospel, and evoke our marked attention to it, and lodge it in our minds, as the interpretative expression of all that he has got to say. " The Word was God." But, for all that, he will never once suffer it to appear within the limits of the historical record. True, the record will serve to explain and to justify Jesus as " the Word," but the term itself came to him from outside the actual experiences, and he is aware of it, and allows no confusion to enter in. We are bound to remember this, in judging the degree of his critical care over his materials.

And, perhaps, it is at this point that we may call to mind his complete acceptance of the Synoptic form of the Gospel story.[1] Far from recoiling from it, or ignoring it, he assumes it throughout. He takes for granted that it is known, even in its details. Thus, he can make reference to it, without explanation; as, for instance, (1) to the baptism of our Lord by John the Baptist; and the descent of the dove: (2) to the choice of the Twelve. He can refer to Simon Peter, as known to us before he has been brought on the scene. He can introduce (3) Mary and Martha as perfectly familiar names to us; and so, again, with Thomas and the sons of Zebedee; and Mary of Cleopas and Mary Magdalene. He is anxious to tell us how it was that our Lord was found at (4) Capernaum during His Galilean mission. The first move there from Nazareth is recorded, though nothing happened there at all in his story. He can suddenly speak (5) of the mother of Jesus as present at the Cana feast, without a hint of even her name.

Again I cannot doubt but that the normal story of our Lord's birth is recognised and assumed.

First, the acceptance of the normal tradition about His mother implies and involves the habitual story as everybody knew it. And it is this story which appears for us in the Synoptic Gospels. He can hardly, therefore, have had any other form of it in

[1] In the following review of the relation of the story of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptic story, there is no reference to the "omissions" in the Fourth Gospel of incidents in the Synoptic story. On this subject see Appendix, p. 165.

view but that which includes the Virgin Birth. For this is the only form known to us, as common to the Church at large.

And his interest in the confusion caused by the popular association with Nazareth, and his constant reference to it, is not really intelligible except on the hypothesis that he accepted the story of the birth at Bethlehem. The more closely you examine those references to the difficulty caused by the supposed origin in Nazareth, the more certain it becomes that the writer has something in his mind that goes behind the perplexity on the surface. He is conscious of the irony at every point. That is why it gives him pleasure to play round it.[1]

Take the case of Nathanael, with his perfectly lawful criticism, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" He wants us to contrast the simple and slow Philip, who has adopted the popular title, "Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph," with the instantaneous recoil of the instructed Jew; "Nazareth! It cannot be Nazareth! There is something wrong about that!" And then he shows us how Philip wins his way, not by solving the perplexity, but by falling back on the simple and yet triumphant plea, "Come and see!" If Nathanael were but to see what he has seen, he is convinced that all these technical obstacles will vanish, somehow. And so they will. Let Nathanael but go, in the guilelessness of his heart, and he will find afterwards that he need not have been bothered over Nazareth.

[1] St. John's irony on this subject is admirably treated by Dr. Chase in *Belief and Creed*, pp. 71 ff.

Over against Nathanael, we have the great men of the Council, who are tangled in the same perplexity, and cannot get past it. They allow it to be final; so that it blocks their true way of escape from all of its toils. "Search and see; for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet."

Once again we watch the loose mob of Jerusalem swinging to and fro, under the action and reaction of this very difficulty, hovering, unable to decide (John vii. 40–43). "Many of the people, therefore, when they heard the saying, said, Of a truth this is the Prophet; others said, This is the Christ; but some said, Shall Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said that Christ cometh of the seed of David and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was? So there was a division of the people because of Him." Is it possible to read that vivid portraiture of the swaying crowd without recognising that, to the writer, the solution is perfectly clear all the time? He is quite keenly aware of the reality of the issues raised. The criticism of the instructed is justified. It would never do for a Messiah to appear on any ground but that of sacred Judæa; or from any other spot than the traditional home of David at Bethlehem. The excitement with which we watch the hesitation of the crowd comes from our being inside the secret.

And, finally, we know that this is what he meant; for in one historic phrase he tells us how utterly Judæa was to him the native land of Jesus, and how remote and accidental was the bond with Galilee. "Jesus Himself bore witness that a prophet is not

without honour, save in His own country." This is the judgment with which he makes the Master abandon Judæa, where He could not win His way, and go to find honour in Samaria and in Galilee, where they believed on Him. Anywhere, and everywhere, He could obtain the faith which He sought, except in the Judæa which was His own.

Another marked reference to the typical Galilean ministry of the Synoptics, which he himself mainly omits, is to be found in the reiterated emphasis laid all through the fourth chapter on the fact that we have reached the critical moment when Jesus first withdrew out of Judæa into Galilee. Everyone knows that the withdrawal marks the opening of the familiar story. "When Jesus had heard that John was put in prison, He withdrew into Galilee," says St. Matthew (iv. 12). "For John was not yet put in prison," says St. John in chapter iii. 24. He had not, he means, yet touched the moment by which the Synoptics determine the date.

But the crisis which they signalise is fast approaching: and already, before the imprisonment of John, the great move had been resolved upon. It was when the jealousy of the Pharisees began to turn from John to menace Him who was now making more disciples than John, that He first turned to the policy of the Galilean withdrawal. Four times over in the chapter the writer recalls to us the momentous meaning of the act. "When therefore the Lord knew how that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John (although Jesus Himself baptized not,

but His disciples), He left Judæa and departed again into Galilee " (ch. iv. 1–3). " Now, after two days, He departed thence and went into Galilee. For Jesus Himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country " (43–44). " So Jesus came again into Cana of Galilee " (46). " When the Centurion heard that Jesus was come out of Judæa into Galilee " (47). " This is again the second sign that Jesus did, when He was come out of Judæa into Galilee " (54). Nothing, then, is told us of what happened in Galilee. Evidently, the stress laid on His going there has its meaning outside of our story. He assumes our knowledge of what the meaning is.

So in chapter vii. 1, he leaves our Lord in Galilee all the time between the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles. He especially mentions that he remained there. Yet, still, he need not tell what He did there. For he has other ends in view. Only he is anxious for us to remember that Jesus is only in Galilee because He cannot help it. He dare not be in Judæa. In giving this as the reason, he entirely tallies with the others.

We may notice, in passing, how his independence also of the others is evidenced by his quiet assertion that Jesus had already, before John's ministry was over, taught His disciples to baptize (ch. iv. 1, 2). This might surprise if it were not explained by the writer at once, that this baptism was only the equivalent to John's own practice. As according to our authorities, Jesus came, at first, preaching in the very words of the Baptist, " Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand " ; so it is not really improbable

that He adopted the symbol of repentance which John had identified with his call. It was no more than this ; for " the Holy Ghost was not yet given," and therefore, our author explains, in an instinctive and natural parenthesis, under his breath, that Jesus Himself baptized not, only His disciples. But, if St. John is right, and the disciples had already been habituated in the practice, then it is far easier to understand their immediate apprehension of the command recorded in the Synoptics, " Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them." Surely, this would be singularly abrupt and dark if nothing had gone before to prepare them for it. Yet there is nothing said by which it is introduced, or through which they are instructed. Only we see, from the Acts, how ready they were with a rite which was familiarly used from the very first day of their preachment, and which took its place, as the ground-act of belief, without the slightest hesitation, and without a word of comment. The baptism of John is linked with Christian baptism by St. Peter, as its typical anticipation (Acts xi. 16). And it may well be that they had themselves administered the Baptism of Water in preparation for administering the Baptism of the Holy Ghost.

In the matter of the baptism of John, our Evangelist deserves special attention. He, and he alone, carries us back to the temper of those first days, and explains the extraordinary pre-eminence of the Baptist in the imaginations of those who framed the Gospel tradition. Always, they saw the Baptist as the primary signal of the religious movement.

Always, he stood there, close before the Christ. It was impossible to open the story of the Christ, except in the formula "John came preaching." Our Lord Himself declared that it was impossible to understand the authority with which He came, without first understanding the authority of the Baptist. If men cannot make out the Baptist's mission, then neither can Jesus enable them to know who He Himself is. So vital is the significance of John. And, yet, he never joins Jesus. He remains outside, in his independence: so that, though the very greatest born of woman, he is still below the level of the very least of those who have been baptized into the new kingdom of heaven. Here is a remarkable position, asserted by the Synoptics, yet unexplained.

The Fourth Gospel adopts exactly and minutely the same position; but, also, offers its spiritual interpretation.

First, the pre-eminent significance of the Baptist is explained when we see how the personal conversion of our Lord's own disciples had been due to him. Every one of these first believers in the Lord had been, before that, at the feet of the Baptist. With him, their spiritual story had begun. To him they had confessed by Jordan. They had also been with those who wondered whether this Preacher were not indeed the Christ. It is their own personal experience which makes it for ever impossible to tell the story of Christ without first saying, "In those days John came preaching."

Now our author can recover the actual intensity of

the momentous hour when the hope that this was indeed the Christ was staggered and broke. The blow was given by the Baptist himself; and the Evangelist could still so vividly recall the shock that he uses his peculiar threefold formula to emphasise the recoil with which his ardent converts heard him repudiate, in his own resolute thoroughness of speech, the honour which all men longed to credit him with. "He confessed; yea, he did not deny it; he confessed, I am not the Christ."

Consider what the emphatic reiteration implies. The days in which it was possible to imagine the Baptist to be the Christ have vanished into the forgotten past.[1] What can these new men, these Greeks grouped there in Asia round the old Evangelist, make of such a wild and distant possibility? As if they could ever, for a moment, imagine a competition, a hesitation, between the Baptist and Jesus Christ! As if the Baptist could be anything to them!

Yet the Evangelist can never forget the agony of the crisis. He can never forget the stupor of dismay when their high hopes were shattered, and John, just when all was within his grasp, and all hung on his lips for the great decision, nevertheless never lost self-control or judgment, and had the immortal courage to refuse the proffered glory. He did it: he did it himself: he was never beguiled by our enthusiastic devotion. Was there ever such force,

[1] Scott, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 79: "If the writer considered it necessary to prove that John was not the Christ he must know of some who have claimed that dignity for him." But the depreciation comes out of the exaltation.

or yet such humility ? He never flinched, or shook. "He confessed; and denied not; he confessed, I am not the Christ." Here is a most remarkable example of his power to go back behind the experiences that had intervened, and to reproduce an original and primitive temper, long ago passed away.

All through the first three chapters we are in presence of a Baptist who competes in importance with Jesus Himself. His own disciples complain bitterly to him that he is yielding his place before the new-comer. And the Evangelist is so possessed with the reality of the apparent competition that he takes deliberate pains in his prologue, when he is summing up the very essence of the Gospel-news, to explain the radical difference that, in spite of superficial likeness, really divided them. "There was a man sent from God whose name was John." This is the only name that can be mentioned in such a context. For it is impossible to contemplate the sending of the Word of God without this one figure of supreme importance appearing at His side. He, too, was "sent." He stands beside the Christ. So unique was his pre-eminence! He began all that Christ followed up. He might seem to be the initiator: he led, Christ followed.

Yes. On the surface it looks like that.

Yet the difference between them was radical, was absolute; and this is what the Evangelist has to assert; and this is what the Baptist himself had the prophetic insight to see, and the moral nobleness to avow. Herein lies his amazing greatness—that he

knew his own limitations, and never once confused his own mission with that of "the other" who should come. So alike on the surface, they were wholly divided in reality. "He was not the Christ" in any sense: he had no part or lot in the absolute mission. He was sent simply "to bear witness of the Christ." It was not really the case that Christ took up what he began. The two were, indeed, incommensurable. They had no common ground. So the Baptist cried, "He that cometh after me, and seems almost as a follower of mine, nevertheless passes right ahead of me; because He is of a wholly different order." "He was before me." This John, who comes so very near to the Christ, yet remains utterly outside the Christ's mission. He is nothing, he is nobody: he is but a flying cry in the wilderness, which is heard and then is gone. Nothing comes by him. Nothing is achieved. He does but signalise the start; and Christ takes up the work. He only cries aloud, and points out "the other," and disappears. Grace and truth, the entire new reality come by Jesus Christ and by Jesus Christ only. John himself once more declared this, when he refused to associate himself with Him who was the Bridegroom, whose voice it was enough for him to hear, as a signal that his own part was over. He himself must decrease, while that other increased. He knew it; he accepted it. This was his joy; in this he is fulfilled.

Here, in this analysis, the Evangelist has given us the hint why the Baptist to the last remains outside the kingdom. It was part of his own prophetic vocation to exhibit the powerlessness of man,

at his best and highest, to enter in. He symbolises in his own person the preparation of the Law, which nevertheless has no share itself in that which fulfils it. The Law is the tutor which leads down to Christ, and so draws very near Him. Yet the division between the tutor and that to which he leads is absolute, and the Law finds its glory in the act of proclaiming its own futility; for, by that very despair of itself, it witnesses to the necessity for that other One who comes into the world. Moses, the prophet of the Law, is dramatically pictured as dying outside the Promised Land, which he cannot himself enter. John, the last prophet of the Law, greater than all the prophets, still remains to the end dramatically outside, pointing the way in. In all this the Evangelist has allowed us to enter into the very heart of the Baptist, and to recognise him as the greatest of all the prophets, because he was conscious of the exact limitations set on prophecy.

It is by recognising this that we can interpret and justify the uttermost witness borne by the Baptist to our Lord in the salutation, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." Of course these words are not supposed to bear the full sense a Christian would put into them. They are to be read in the light simply of the passage from which they are taken. The second Isaiah had in the 53rd chapter given the Baptist the language and associations which would account for the phrase he uses, and he probably means little more than what the prophetic writer may have

meant. But the words, as they stand, emerge instinctively out of the situation which has made itself intelligible to him. He was dealing night and day with that sin of the world which men were confessing in his ears by Jordan; and he and they were discovering, as they confessed, how impotent was the Baptism of Water to take away their sin. The further the confession went, the more absolute became the Baptist's knowledge of his own powerlessness to help. More and more he learnt "to confess, to deny not, but confess, I am not the Christ, I can do nothing." Why ask what I am—or why I baptize? For myself, I am but a voice. This is his reiterated assertion. Something more is wanted, if humanity is ever to cast out its own sin. Some act must be done on its behalf, for the Baptist has carried man's effort as far as it can go, and yet it breaks and fails. Something will have to be done for him by that other, who enters to "baptize with fire." What will that something be? And then it is that he catches sight of our Lord's face, it may be white and strained and pathetic with the stress of the great Temptation; and back on him come the ancient words of prophecy, telling him of some meek one, led to the slaughter like a lamb, for the chastisement of our sins; and the truth flashes in. Surely it will be, somehow, by the way of sacrifice that the thing will be done; this meek one who approaches him will work it out by death. The associations, natural and familiar to the son of a priest, rush back upon him, out of his own boyhood's memories, and he cries, "Behold

the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

It seems, then, that we can explain the utterance itself out of the conditions which belong to the situation. But can we, on the other hand, suppose that, if the Baptist had ever arrived at this utterance, he would not have become a disciple of the Master whom he had recognised, and have abandoned his independent work? This difficulty is, at any rate, not peculiar to the Fourth Gospel; for the Synoptics tally exactly with the account he gives of the position taken up by the Baptist. In them, too, he decisively recognises the Master to whom he attributes such supreme significance, and yet continues his own work of preparation. Our Lord's own verdict on him exactly expresses this attitude. He places him, at once, at the highest crown of humanity under the Law; and yet below "the least in the kingdom of heaven." Probably the very words in which he recognised the Master would imply that he expected some supreme and historical manifestation; some act of Divine deliverance worked through Him; and until this took place, he would regard matters as still in suspense, and would therefore remain pointing forward and preparing. He had recognised the agent of deliverance, but the action had yet to take place. And it may be this that explains the message of dismay from the prison, which supposes that he had already believed Jesus the Christ which was to come, but is offended by the long delay of the manifestation; so that he challenges Him with the inquiry—"Are we, after

all, to look for another ? " The tone of disappointment and offence in the message is the measure of the height to which his expectations had formerly carried him.

Our Evangelist then agrees with the others in the general picture given of St. John the Baptist, while he alone accounts for the immense importance which they attribute to him. He also agrees with them as to the style in which the Baptist spoke. He puts in his mouth brief, pithy, and enigmatic sayings, and he especially recalls the sharp, weird cry of his voice. The picturesque saying, " He that hath the bride is the bridegroom " (iii. 29), is quite in the manner of the man who spoke of the " axe laid to the root of the tree," or of " Him whose fan is in His hand and He will throughly purge His floor." The verdict on himself—" He must increase, but I must decrease "—does not go beyond the proverbial word remembered by the others—" There cometh one mightier than I after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose."

At ch. iii. v. 31, it is no doubt the Evangelist who is speaking for himself and interpreting the relationship, as he conceived it, between his own Master and the Baptist. If this is so, then there seems to be nothing in the record given which goes beyond the limits which are natural to the historical moment.

There is yet another point in which the Fourth Gospel serves to explain a difficult situation in the other three. He alone can tell us how it is that the Pharisees and the crowd at the Feast are so

ready to turn to the Roman Government for aid, and to charge Jesus before the Governor with being that very thing which they most desired—a rebel against Rome. How was it brought about that this should be the final charge; and how was it that they should be so willing to make it? It is surely unaccounted for in the other Gospels; but from St. John we understand how it was due to the fact that the opponents of our Lord, unable to find a way of action for themselves on their own lines, fell in with the Sadducean policy of Caiaphas—a policy which, however hateful to themselves, yet made itself dominant by proving itself alone efficacious. There is this additional tragedy, then, in the final close—that the Pharisees, for the sake of slaying the Lord, forswore the creed which had been their glory and their life, and allowed themselves to be found crying in Pilate's Hall, "We have no king but Cæsar."

But while using the common tradition and assuming it, he shows himself totally independent of it; and this is the most remarkable characteristic of the book. Whenever he wishes to use for his own purposes incidents and scenes which appear in the common tradition, he leaves the tradition itself out of account, and works over the ground on his own account with entire freshness and originality. We see this in the episodes with the Baptist in the opening of the Gospel, and again in the sixth chapter, when he is handling the feeding of the five thousand. The old names appear; the situation is exactly

that which the Synoptics describe ; but his personal authority to tell the tale is obviously regarded as its own warrant.[1] If at any point he happens to differ, it does not in the least concern him. He takes no trouble to put himself straight. He gives his own version ; and expects to be believed. It is impossible to read the Gospel without feeling that the hearers are expected to receive his account with complete acquiescence in his supreme right to give it. For some reason or other, he stands above the common tradition and not below it.

This becomes yet more apparent in the great chapters that relate the final tragedy. Here he not only shows himself independent of the tradition, but at certain points definitely traverses it. We have already spoken of his careful emphasis on the transference of our Lord, after His seizure, first to Annas and then to Caiaphas. He is particular about this detail. Then, again, in his story of Pilate and his conduct at the trial, while agreeing precisely with the others as to the attitude taken up by Pilate, he enters far more deeply into the details of Pilate's struggle on behalf of the Master, and gives a different account of the various moments through which Pilate passed. It is a most sympathetic analysis of the motives which led Pilate to make the great surrender, and he takes great pains

[1] In later lectures Dr. Holland noted how the author of the *Fourth Gospel* implies that our Lord *ought* to have been at Jerusalem for the Passover, had there not been special reasons for His avoiding Jerusalem. He could not go for fear of His life. As it is, the opposition from Jerusalem has followed Him to Galilee.

to give at full length the varied and persistent effort made on behalf of the prisoner. He distinguishes between the appeal made to their pity—"Behold the Man!"—and that made to their scorn, to the absurdity of the accusation, to the impotence of the claim charged against the helpless prisoner, "Behold your King!" The study of motives, as they work in Pilate, is singularly lifelike and convincing, and he gives special lucidity to the secret of Pilate's surrender, as he shows the force of the great cry in the hall—"If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend": "Whosoever maketh himself a King speaketh against Cæsar." Pilate was already under imperial suspicion. Here is exactly the threat that would have force with him. Throughout, while the identity of Pilate's attitude and character, as it is reported in the other accounts, is exactly preserved, the whole is coloured by a freedom, a freshness, and an intimacy of touch which carry us far closer to the living man than they can do.

But the climax of this independence is exhibited in his treatment of the Last Supper, and this he appears definitely to pronounce not to have been the Passover meal. The Passover had yet to be eaten when our Lord was in the Judgment Hall. This is distinctly given as the reason why the Jews could not enter the hall, for fear of defiling themselves before the Passover.

It is probable that the author was attracted by the conception of the death of our Lord on the Cross tallying in time with the death of the Paschal

Lamb. But if he had been led by this attraction to force the connection, he must have left some traces of his purpose. He must have shown some sign that he was rather violently breaking up the familiar story. Yet not the slightest effort can be detected. He does not by any single syllable betray the slightest anxiety to win his version favour. Nor does any doubt occur to him as to the adherence of his hearers. He moves along his story with entire serenity and assurance. Nor does he attempt to justify his version, or to call attention to it in any way. Only in incidental phrases, which fall in as they come with perfect spontaneity, do we detect what he is telling us. We learn it either from such a saying as the one already quoted about the Jews fearing to defile themselves; or by his record of the disciples' supposition that Judas had gone out to buy something for the Feast. The whole thing is told with natural ease, and without a trace of self-consciousness.

And the interesting thing is that, if he be right, many details in the other Gospels, which are now perplexing, explain themselves. We understand at once how it was that the High Priest sent out the guard to take our Lord in such haste—in order that all might be done before the Feast—"for they feared the people." They had especially said, "Not on the Feast Day." It would be strange if, after all, it was exactly on the Feast Day that it happened. We understand again how the Court of the Sanhedrin could meet for the trial, which would certainly be illicit on the Feast Day. We

see how the women could go and buy spices, and, perhaps, how it was that Simon of Cyrene could be coming out of the country. It becomes, also, more intelligible why not the faintest allusion is made to the Paschal Lamb at the Supper.

Yet it remains that the other Gospels are quite precise in their statements that "they made ready the Passover." How this is to be explained we must leave to those who undertake to interpret them. For us it is sufficient to say that of the two accounts that given in the Fourth Gospel is the one which most naturally fits all the facts, and explains what is inexplicable in the other accounts, while remaining perfectly consistent with itself. Also, while it is just possible to explain, if the Fourth Gospel is right, how the ordinary tradition grew into identifying the Christian Passover with the old Paschal Feast; on the other hand, if the Synoptic account is right, it is impossible to account for the minute and incidental references by which the Fourth Gospel deliberately traverses it. Of the two versions, then, the last remains the more probable, historically. Now, this easy and broad independence of the very tradition, which he freely utilises wherever it satisfies him, is a point of vital importance in considering the question of the authority. We are bound to recur to it again and again: for it challenges a decision: it forces a verdict. The longer we look at it, the more impressive, the more unavoidable it becomes.

Who is it who can afford to traverse the accepted tradition in a matter so momentous as the Last

Supper ? The Last Supper has become the absolute core of the Church's worship. In it is given the one absolute legacy, in deed and word, of the risen Christ to His living Body. We are touching the vital heart of the Church's existence. We know, again, the rigour and the scrupulosity with which the great tradition was handed down, including, especially, the account of how our Lord, on the night that He was betrayed, took bread. This tradition is fixed, under valid and Apostolic authority, as soon as we know anything of Christianity at all. It is carefully organised from the centre, where " the pillars " abide for this very purpose of assuring authenticity to the tradition, for thirty years, without moving. No one may teach the tradition who cannot show their imprimatur. St. Paul himself is studiously anxious to assert his entire agreement with that which he had received. Round about this tradition the Church is organised, as a living organism that exists to preserve it intact. No looseness of teaching is tolerated on this cardinal matter : no uncertificated teacher can touch it. Yet here is someone who does not find it worth while to consider how he stands to the familiar form. He stands over it, not under it. He tells his story with the assumption that, if he happens to differ from what is commonly taught, no one will be surprised, no one will hesitate to accept his version. We feel, as we read, that it would be impertinent to ask him how he comes to apparently disagree with them. The question does not trouble him, does not occur to him. If ever

he breaks off to assert the validity of his witness, it is at moments that were solely significant to his personal convictions: not the least at the points where people might be asking, "What possible authority has he for going beyond the tradition?" This last question would, obviously, be impossible. It is unnecessary even to forestall it.

Now, is there any explanation but one of this assumption of indisputable authority over the tradition—an authority which the whole Church will accept without a quiver of hesitation, as included in the inevitable position of him who speaks? In the face of this phenomenal fact, what room is left for a supposition of some unknown, unnamed, unrecorded believer, working upon some unknown reminiscences of an unknown old man called John the Presbyter, who is reported to have been, in some uncertified sense, a disciple of the Lord, and weaving out of them a novel and allegorical picture of what he fancies to be the Ideal Christ, as He might have been? Such a supposition cannot pretend to bear the strain of the facts. It offers no explanation whatever of the one thing that needs to be explained. It is not even an alternative to the traditional hypothesis. For it offers no account at all of what happened or of how it came about. It is, simply, a confession that if the book is not the Apostle John's, then we do not know anything about it, nor can give any intelligible interpretation of its origin and acceptance. We give it up. This is all that can be said.

There is only one suggestion that even attempts to meet the case. It is that argued by Dr. Delff [1] and hung over, with a certain wistfulness, by Dr. Sanday. The suggestion rests upon a statement attributed to Papias that St. John, like his brother, was "slain by the Jews." The statement and attribution appear to depend upon a single authority —an epitomiser (eighth or ninth century) of Philip of Side (fifth century), who certainly does not quote Philip accurately (see Armitage Robinson as referred to below). It is contrary to every tradition which we possess concerning John the Apostle, and we cannot doubt that some remark of Papias has been misunderstood. If the statement had been as reported we must surely have heard of it from Eusebius or other earlier writers. Nevertheless on this basis (1) we are asked to believe that John the Apostle was martyred at some date before the destruction of Jerusalem, (2) we have to imagine that the disciple whom Jesus loved was not John the Apostle, but a chosen youth whom our Lord took with Him everywhere. He was, probably, from Jerusalem, and knew, better than the regular Apostles, the Jerusalem incidents. He took a unique position in later days, as having been so

[1] On Delff's theory, cf. Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 99–108. On the supposed martyrdom, cf. Ramsay, *First Christian Century*, pp. 28 ff.; Armitage Robinson, *Historical Character of St. John's Gospel* (Longmans, 1908), pp. 64 ff. Dr. Holland referred to Armitage Robinson's *Study of the Gospels* (p. 151). I have substituted a reference to the later treatment of the subject, and have recast the statement in the text accordingly.

tenderly and deeply favoured by his Master; and stood close to the intimate Apostolic ring. This favoured youth, whose name was also John, gradually stepped into the place of the dead Apostle, and became the supreme living authority on what the Master had said; so that when the Synoptic Gospels were brought under his review, and he was induced to fill them out by a complementary and more authoritative record, the whole Church had come to forget which John it was, and took John, the old man of Ephesus, to be the Apostle whose martyrdom had been forgotten.

Now such an imaginative theory might reconcile a few superficial details that now puzzle us; but the moment that we bring to bear on it the pressure of real facts, it is bound to collapse under us.

For consider what it involves. The supposed author, who had this unique experience, and who went behind even Apostolic intimacy with our Lord on earth, has left no shadow of a trace of his existence or of his name on the Gospel tradition. Nobody has ever heard of him. Not a hint suggests that he was ever there. He waits utterly out of sight and hearing, until he emerges in Asia, as a man possessed of such acknowledged and supreme authority that the Synoptic Records are submitted to his review, and he is allowed to assume the solitary and incomparable significance that would belong to the Apostle St. John.

He is a spiritual genius, able to produce a book that is unique even in the Christian Scriptures; yet not a fragment of a tradition remains to say who

he was, where he lived, what he did, or thought, or said. He must have been on terms of the most affectionate intimacy with Simon Peter; yet the Gospel tradition has not preserved a single note of his presence. And, certainly, Simon and John the Apostle were close friends, so that there must have been two of the same name, both so near to him that they appear to have melted into one.

And, then, if "the disciple whom Jesus loved" be not St. John, the Fourth Gospel, which takes such special pains to introduce us inside the Apostolic circle, and to establish their characters and relationships, has, practically, omitted to mention St. John altogether. He would only be referred to as one of those who went with Peter a-fishing in chapter xxi. Can we imagine John the Apostle unmentioned and unnoted in a Gospel that specially treats of the friends of Jesus? And here, again, in this twenty-first chapter, though John the son of Zebedee is present, the disciple whom Jesus loved, who has *not* been mentioned among those whose names have been recorded, appears suddenly to be there. There remains, moreover, the extraordinary and incomprehensible confusion that we must attribute to the entire Church, by which it passively and unconsciously allowed the substitution of a disciple, whose record does not exist in any shape or form, into the place of the great Apostle who, by unwavering tradition, for some twenty years stood as a central pillar of the Church, close bound with Simon Peter himself, in the heart of the authoritative body of witnesses in Jerusalem itself.

This tradition denies him martyrdom. But we, on a story woven out of the ninth century, have to deny the tradition.

Tradition makes him live until, in extreme old age, his memory haunted the Asian coasts, and made it a difficulty to believe that he would ever die. We have got to believe him wiped out by some violent death, which no one has taken the trouble to notice or remember ; while the haunting memories of the Asian disciples had, really, mistaken their man.

How are we to take such a suggestion seriously ? Are these the methods and conclusions of science ? We are once again playing with our own ignorance and toying with the attraction of fanciful inventions. We have lost all touch of solid ground. Anything, of course, is possible ; but we have wandered into a region where we have no material for checking our imagination. It is as we review the vague uncertainties of these alternative suggestions that we find ourselves forced back again and again on the arresting challenge, either the book was written by the Apostle, or we are totally unable to account for its existence. If John wrote it, then, at least, we have an explanation which broadly accounts for the character and position and authority of the book. If he did not, then its form and its origin and its history are unintelligible. We have lost the cue, and have no interpretation to offer. Criticism is baffled. The book must be left an unsolved mystery.

If, on the contrary, it was the work of the Apostle, then its unique originality of character is, obviously,

natural. For we have to remember that we have no other example whatever of how one of the Apostolic band of eye-witnesses would write a Gospel. There is nothing to compare it with. It is not one more Gospel added to the other three. It emerges on a different plane from these. They are of the stamp and order which belong to the level of subordinates, who, without professing to be first-hand witnesses, can claim to report exactly what they have been taught. Their authority lies, not in the men who write, but in those who stand behind them. The tradition steadily asserts no more than this. The names attached emphasise it. St. Mark is only important as representing St. Peter. St. Luke carefully warns us of his secondary position. He, with many others, has tried to set down the exact account transmitted to him by those who saw and knew. That, and no more, is what he can achieve. Behind and beyond him he finds his entire significance in that living band whose witness he can faithfully repeat. The first Gospel is, certainly, of the same character and rank. It is exceedingly difficult to say what precise part in it can be attributed to St. Matthew. It probably represents the report of the tradition behind which stood St. Matthew, as Peter stood behind St. Mark. These are Gospels, then, which faithful clerks might write, whose personal claim to be believed would lie, not in their own authority, for they were more or less obscure, but in their background; in that which they professed to transmit and report.

Now, suppose that, at last, one of this inner band

of authoritative witnesses, who had always been behind the subordinate reporters, were himself to step out from the background into the front, and, instead of leaving it to one who was no eye-witness to record what he was told, were to put himself, in his own authoritative supremacy, to the task, the resultant work would stand off from these others, as framed on different lines, as speaking with another voice, as possessed of a different certitude, as capable of other ventures, as moving on another level.

We have only to take St. Luke's modest introduction, in which he tells us so plainly that he is only putting down what Theophilus and he had always learned as they sat, with others, at the feet of those who alone could deliver the living testimony; and merely claims completeness and orderly precision for his careful report; and, after reading this, to take up the splendid opening with which the writer of the First Epistle of St. John announces his personal validity in words that are familiar enough and yet seem ever to gather up new forcefulness of assertion: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of Life; for the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you, that eternal Life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us; that which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you." Now, consider. If he, who made this tremendous claim, were ever to write the record of what he had so seen,

would it not be felt, in a moment, that a gulf had yawned between it and any work that could come out of the tone and temper of the Lucan Preface? We should be in another world. We should breathe another atmosphere. The two products would proclaim their distinctness and their contrasts, at every line. Is the contrast [1] in tone and type between the first three Gospels and the Fourth at all greater than this difference in personal authority would lead us to expect?

Yet, of course, he is writing and selecting, in the light of his later experiences. And this will especially affect his record of his Master's words, and the expressions which convey the full creed. Obviously, the report is intended to convey the impression which long years of brooding meditation have gone to produce.[2] The selection of this material, the emphasis laid on typical phrases and expressions, the significance attributed to words and acts, all bear the marks of the discipline which has taught him so much. In Dr. Armitage Robinson's admirable words: "The whole is present in his memory, shaped by years of reflection, illuminated by the experience of a lifetime. He knows the Christ far better than he knew Him in Galilee or Jerusalem half a century before. He knows who and what He is, as he hardly guessed then. And the fuller knowledge has revealed the inner sig-

[1] On the differences and the harmony of the two presentations, see Appendix, p. 166.

[2] On the relation of reflection to experience, see Appendix, p. 168.

nificance of events as none knew it, save the Master, at that time. He cannot speak or write as if he were a young man wondering from day to day whether this were the Christ. . . . He will say what he now saw in the light of a life of discipleship." [1] That is excellently said.

"There where I once saw points, I now see stars."

This process is undeniable. The writer practically proclaims it, by the opening prologue, in which he plainly announces the full and ultimate conclusion of belief to which he has come, and in the light of which he has written his record. He makes perfectly clear what are the assumptions with which it is to be read. It is to be history told in the fuller light of what he firmly believes to be its true and absolute interpretation. He proposes "to give" the meaning of the whole story as the Divine Spirit had "revealed it to him, and as he had long grown accustomed to explain it to others." [2] In carrying this intention out, he will not be afraid to introduce his own comments into the narrative, and to expound the conversations in his own words. This he certainly does in chapter iii, for instance vv. 13–21, and again vv. 31–36.

There may be other passages where it is more difficult to trace the dividing line between the original and its expression. And, moreover, his identification of himself with his story is so delicate and so entire that the language of the Master

[1] *Study of the Gospels*, p. 149.
[2] *Ibid.*

throughout has the personal colour and flavour and tone of the reporter. That must be allowed. But what I would plead is that no one will be afraid to allow it, if only the writer be the one who lay on Jesus's breast. We cannot know Jesus better than through him. It must be remembered that Jesus deliberately preferred to be recorded through the impression that He made on others, rather than through any less indirect method. When St. Paul cried "Ye are my record," he was echoing the very spirit of his Master. The Master rated the mediation of selected man higher than the mediation of the bare written word. He left no scrap of writing behind Him, but only twelve men, who had "companied with Him from the baptism of John until the day that He was taken up from them." Through these all that was ever to be known of Him was to pass. The report of men, whose lives had been absorbed in His, conveyed the truth about Him better than ink and parchment could ever do. So He decided. And, in that decision, He had pronounced a record such as St. Mark's to be insufficient: He had made something after the type of the Fourth Gospel obligatory and inevitable. The personal impression that He produced is to be itself the medium of His Revelation. A living organ is alone adequate to record and transmit the Life of Life.

This principle must be assumed in determining our relationship to this Gospel. We must allow it to be part of our assumption, and indeed of our confidence, that the man comes, in a measure, between

us and the Christ. There is no other way of arriving at Christ than through a man ; and Christ Himself considers that there is no surer way. If only we can know the heart of this man : if only we can lie on the breast of him who lay on the breast of Jesus : if only it be that man, and no other, who is speaking : if only it be with his eyes that we see, so that we hear what he heard, and feel what he touched : then we are in possession of all that we can desire. And the assurance that this is indeed the voice of the disciple whom Jesus loved, to which we are listening in the Fourth Gospel, will, I am persuaded, deepen, through closer critical study, into an absolute conviction which no superficial enigmas will avail to disturb. So that we too may be able to join our corroborative voices with those of old, and say, " This is the disciple which testifieth of these things and wrote these things : and we know that his testimony is true."

NOTE ON THE PROLOGUE AND CHAPTER I

St. John i. 1–18

The whole force of the Prologue is concentrated on declaring the full significance of that historical experience which it is the purpose of the Gospel to record and interpret. A fact had happened which those who bore their witness had heard, had seen with their eyes, and looked upon, and handled with their hands. And through this fact a manifestation had been made of the Word of Life, even of that "eternal Life which was with the Father and was manifested to them." This passage (1 St. John i. 1–4), with its characteristic threefold reiteration, is closely parallel to the Prologue. This which they actually had seen they now declared unto them whom they would draw into their fellowship. On this fact so manifested, as it actually was assimilated by them, the writer broods. Back to it he continually returns, reiterating, rehearsing, repeating. He never leaves it. The high theological interests to which he so emphatically refers, concerned with the eternal character of this Life which was in the beginning and was ever in union with God, and was of the very nature of God, are not introduced or dwelt upon so much for their own sake, as to heighten and magnify the extraordinary value of the action now taken, of

the manifestation now made. They are not argued out ; they are not explained ; nor is it expected that they will be disputed, that they will cause any surprise. Rather they are rehearsed, in their absolute worth, in order to intensify the momentous character of the immediate crisis, the awful tragedy of man's rejection of the manifested Life, the overwhelming power and glory of its acceptance. Thus the full force of the opening declaration, " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God ; all things were made by Him ; in Him was Life, and the Life was the Light of men," is to be found and felt in the astounding close. This Light, though it was the manifestation of that eternal Life which is in the bosom of God, nevertheless when it appears for man's salvation shines out only in the midst of a great darkness, a darkness which looked as if it would overwhelm it. That is the terrible issue which haunts the imagination of the writer ; that is the damaging fact which he sets himself in his Gospel to explain. He repeats it over and over again, as in a refrain. It is so incredible. Think of it ! He, who is the Light of the World, is present and standing within the very world which He has made : and yet the world knew Him not. Think again ! He has come to make Himself one with those who are already committed to Him, pledged to Him ; He was their traditional heritage ; their peculiar and privileged possession. And yet, coming as He did in response to all that made them already His own, they, who had been so intimately bound to Him, could not understand nor perceive nor apprehend Him. They could

not appreciate their own inheritance. "He came unto His own, and His own received Him not." How could such a disaster have happened? Had they no sign, no warning? On the contrary, there was a man sent for the very purpose of enabling them to respond. John was sent by God to provide against the danger of a mistake. Himself not in any sense the absolute or eternal Light, he was nevertheless qualified to recognise it, to bear public witness that it was there. Yet even this witness, in which the entire prophetic movement of Israel culminated, could not save the day. In spite of John's faithful witness, "His own received Him not."

It is this prominence of John the Baptist in the Prologue which shows how closely the entire passage adheres to the actual events of Christ's coming. If the writer were preoccupied with the high theology concerning the Word in the bosom of the Father, then the abrupt and violent introduction of the Baptist into the foreground would be inexplicable. But if his eyes and heart are absorbed in recalling the actual experience of those who saw Christ come, then it is quite impossible for him to present that arrival without including the vivid impression of that other, the forerunner, through the powerful impact of whose personality every one of the believers came to recognise the Light. They could never dissociate their ultimate belief from the strong pressure of the loud cry which drove them to it. And it is this close attachment to the actual experience of the fact which explains also the writer's special anxiety to make the distinction between the Word

and its forerunner, between the Light and its herald, so absolute. In the order of facts, they appear like partners in one cause, successive leaders following one another in a common task. But the peculiar wonder of the Apostolic experience lay in the discovery that the order of succession in time gave no clue to the relative values of the two. It was found that the two moved in different planes, and were wholly incomparable. He who came later and looked like a follower went at once right ahead of him whom He had followed, just because in the order of real existence He was utterly and wholly first: "He was before him." The Baptist had no part or lot in the actual manifestation of the Light; he was not one factor in the Illumination who was followed and surpassed by a yet fuller revelation. Far from it. He did not stand inside the Light at all. He was wholly outside it, pointing at it. He was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness to that Light. For the writer the true manifestation of the Word turns, largely, on this absolute distinction between the Baptist and the Christ. The two, who seem so closely connected, in reality arrive from opposite directions. One is from above; the other is from below. One rises out of the world to witness to the Light; the Other, the real Light, is that which arrives at the world and comes into it from without. Only when so recognised and apprehended in His complete independence of John the Baptist is He received as what He is, in His own name: "*That* was the true Light, which lighteth every man, the Light coming into the world."

And this vital distinction is what marked all the experience of those who received this Light. This coming of the Light into the world from without was verified to them through their own experience of the change wrought in them by their reception of Him. For in receiving Him they found themselves wholly changed, transformed, recreated, with new powers and capacities, which were made theirs through their having authority now to act as sons of God. They were reborn into a condition which could in no way be accounted for from within or from below. It was no growth, no upspringing, no flowering of the natural man. Search as they might, they could not discover its origin in the human life which was theirs by blood ; nor was it in any sense the outcome of that forceful purpose which was pushing its way upward through the elect and sacred Jewish birth ; nor again of the intentional effort put out by the man's own desire to attain his highest ideal. No physical ground, no heredity, no voluntary endeavour, sufficed to explain what had happened to them. It could only have been wrought in them by an incoming energy of God.

And this rebirth had become possible : there was a force in action which was sufficient to account for it. For the living and creative Will of God, His Word, had identified Himself with human flesh. He was here within the life of men, in which He abode as a permanent power ; and the individual men who passed under this power and accepted His name recognised in Him, through His work in them, the manifested actuality, the present glory of the living

God, making itself felt under the kindred forms of grace and truth, that is, through the free boon of new life, and the disclosure of the inner reality of things.

All this radical distinction, which severed the Light from him who simply bore witness to the coming of the Light, John himself consciously apprehended. In this lay his prophetic greatness, that he had the insight to detect, and the courage to declare, his own prophetic limitation. He proclaimed aloud, with a great cry, that the order of development reversed and disguised the order of reality, so that He who followed did indeed precede. And we who believed verified in our own persons this declaration of John ; for we found by experience that the life opened out by that which we received into us was wholly new and full and growing. There was no limit to it, for each advent of life made possible a fresh arrival. This constituted something additional, unique, original. The old condition, governed by the Law given through Moses, had nothing like it. The Light and the Life which were now at our disposal had no existence in man until they were brought into action for us by the coming of Jesus Christ. We were brought into contact with that uttermost and absolute reality which is God Himself. He whom no human eye can see was made known to us, as our own God and Father, through the manifestation made in us by Him who was everlastingly One with Him, heart to heart and face to face, His very Son.

ST. JOHN I. 19–51

The issue at stake has been declared. The Eternal Word has become Man in the world that He had made, and the world did not know it. The Light of Life is shining, yet it shines in darkness. The Christ has come to His own, and His own did not recognise Him. But the individual believers who do receive Him find themselves created afresh, and recognise the cause of this transfiguration in Him who is the Glory of the Father.

Now, how is this cleavage to be explained ? Why did some accept and some refuse ? The entire Gospel is devoted to answering this question. It has first stated the ultimate rejection and the ultimate belief ; but neither rejection nor belief was achieved at a stroke. Each was arrived at by a gradual process, and by noting the process the result can be made credible. The Gospel, therefore, begins with the earliest moment of the first formation of faith, and it ends with the final utterance in which Apostolic belief shakes off its last hesitating doubt and seals its perfected confession. Thomas said, " My Lord and my God." Between these two poles we can watch the refusal of His own to receive Him hardened down from dim suspicion and critical inquiry, through recoil and distrust and repugnance, into obliquity, blindness, hostility, hate ; until at the end it has cried, " Not this Man, but Barabbas ; crucify Him, crucify Him ! We have no king but Cæsar."

What was it, then, that determined the contrasted

decision? Whence did the divergence spring? That is what the writer will now tell us. It all began with John. "This is the record of John, when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, 'Who art thou?'" On the answer to that challenge everything turned.[1] This was the emphatic hour which the writer can never forget. In order to convey the overwhelming sense of its significance, he gives to his record of it a threefold reiteration: "He confessed, and denied not, but confessed, 'I am not the Christ.'" We can still feel, in that repeated emphasis, the profound emotion of dismay in which those who had mused in their hearts whether this were not the Christ, heard the great refusal made. He himself in his austere humility scattered their expectation. Who, then, was he, and what was his worth? Those only could understand who could enter into the secret of his self-abnegation. He was naught; another was all in all. His whole value lay in pointing to that Other. He is but a voice crying in the wilderness. He can do nothing with his baptism of water. He is not worthy even to play the part of slave to Him who comes and who alone counts. And why are he, himself, and his baptism naught? Why is that Other everything? Now the great word is said. It is because there is a sin which no effort of man's own, and no mere baptism of water, can ever wash away. He had come baptizing with water in order to convict his own baptism of impotence.

[1] This entirely agrees with the account our Lord gives of Himself in the Synoptic Gospel, Matt. xxi. 23–27

He baptized with water in order to make Him manifest who should do with His fire what water could never do. That is why this Other takes precedence. He takes away the sin of which man cannot rid himself; and He does this by some act which would recall Him who was to be "brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and should be stricken of the Lord for the transgression of His people." "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world."

How far it is possible or natural for the Baptist actually to have said such words has been discussed in the Introduction. Anyhow, they here appear as the keywords in which all the witness of the Baptist culminates, and as the decisive words which determine the crisis of Faith. The Jews, the representatives of the great refusal, are preoccupied with John himself. "What sayest thou of thyself? Art thou Elijah? art thou the prophet? Who art thou, that we may give an answer to them that sent us?" If they cannot find the man's worth within the man himself, they have nothing to report; and so seeking it, they miss all the value of the witness. And they do this because they know nothing of the sin which water cannot wash away. If they had experienced this sin, they would have been ready to look out for Another. As it is, they have no motive which shall lead them to require Another. As our Lord said later on, "Ye say, We see: therefore your sin remaineth." So the Jews, in their desire to find John's significance in himself, are blind towards his real meaning.

But John is determined that it shall not end there. He forces the issue to the front: "John bare record." He told aloud emphatically how his own vain baptism of water led straight to the direct disclosure of Him who should bring into effective action the real baptism of the Spirit. Who this should prove to be, he knew not; nor did any personal knowledge that he may have had of Him who was finally made manifest to him serve in the very least to enable him, on his own account or by his own judgment, to name Him. He would never have trusted a verdict of his own on such a vital matter. "I knew Him not," he repeats. It was no appointment of his. God alone had given him authority to declare Him; a Voice from heaven proclaimed it; a sign from heaven confirmed it. He recognised the fulfilment of his mission, and said it out that all might hear: "I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God."

Nor would he rest at that. Others must be made to hear and understand; therefore on the very next day after his public proclamation, as once again Jesus passed by while two special disciples stood near, he cried and said again, "Behold the Lamb of God." And now the crying voice does not lose itself in the wilderness. The two heard, and turned and followed the silent stranger, followed Him until He had to turn and face them: "Whom seek ye?" They hardly knew; they had no words; only they could go with Him. "Rabbi, where dwellest Thou?" "Come, and ye shall see." They came therefore and saw where He

abode; and they abode with Him that day: it was about the tenth hour. How could they ever forget that hour? In that passage from John to Jesus the religious story of humanity made its transition from the old Covenant to the new, from the Law to Grace. In those two men who abode with Him that night, Christianity had begun. In the morning they were prepared to say, "We have found the Christ." The whole chapter, from verse 35 to the end, is now simply a diary recording how day by day the first knot of followers found their way to the Master. The whole interest is personal and individual. We are not occupied so much with the Christ as with how these men came one by one to Him. Andrew is the first to be named, and with him is that other whose name we are only allowed to conjecture from one special personal allusion. He, it is hinted, like Andrew, had a brother whom he went to find and bring. But Andrew found Simon before he found James. Or was it that this silent companion sought to find his best friend, Simon, but that Andrew forestalled him; and fitly, since it was his own brother whom he sought? "Andrew findeth first his own brother Simon." Anyhow, we are made to understand who that other disciple was. But it is Simon on whom our attention is arrested. "Jesus turned and looked." He saw what a possibility was there, if only it could be steadied—saw it with those eyes that always read a man's soul. As Simon, son of Jona, it was worth much; but it was still perilously variable and impressionable. Let him

but come into the school of this Master, and he shall be made under discipline steadfast as a rock. "Thou art Simon, son of Jona; there shall be a day when thou shalt be called Cephas." Who came next? Had John brought James? We are not told. But there was a man whom Simon and Andrew knew of, for he was of their village. They told Jesus of him, and Jesus sets out to find him. Philip is without initiative himself, here as always. All the others find Jesus; but Philip has to be found. Once found, he hurries off to bring in his own devout friend, Nathanael. In his haste, he has caught up the popular title "Jesus of Nazareth, son of Joseph." But his friend is a religious student, and has his heart in the great Tradition. The Messianic Hope has for him its essential home in the prophetic ground of Judæa. How could a true Israelite look for news of a Messiah from Nazareth in Galilee? The Gospel is charged deeply with this motive. We shall meet it whenever the names of Nazareth and Bethlehem come into play. It is perfectly clear that the writer accepts the Synoptic story of the place of birth, and enjoys the perplexities raised by Nazareth and Galilee (compare chs. iv. 44 and vii. 41–44). Philip has no explanation to give. He had never thought of the difficulty. He has only one available plea: "Come and see." As they approach, the Master recognises in Nathanael the finest sample of spiritual Jew—the Jew who is led by his prophetic loyalty to the older Covenant to pass over without a jar into the kingdom of heaven. It is the antithesis

of the normal Jew, St. Paul, who is flung over by the revolutionary violence of his mental strife. Nathanael passes smoothly from his prayer under the fig-tree into the confession of faith in Christ—a faith which, after all, is but a fulfilment for an Israelite without guile of that vision seen by Israel, still tangled in his guile, in the night on the lone rocksides of Bethel. The form that this confession takes is a strong evidence of the power of the writer to throw himself back into a dead past. "Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God; Thou art the King of Israel." The title "Son of God" is still quite vague and indeterminate, and is therefore entirely subordinate to the climax "King of Israel." This is, to the speaker, the crowning salutation, beyond which it is impossible to go. By the date at which the Gospel is written, such an order in the titles would be an impossible anti-climax.

So ends the diary. Five (or perhaps six) men have been drawn together to form a nucleus of the new companionship. Each of them has been individualised, in the intimate manner which distinguishes this Gospel from the vague generalities of the Synoptists. The Kingdom is now astir. Man has begun to believe.

APPENDIX TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL

1. The Chronological Relation of the Jerusalem and the Galilean Ministries.
2. The Philosophy of Belief and Unbelief.
3. Omissions from the Fourth Gospel.
4. On the Relation of the Johannine and the Galilean Presentations.
   (*a*) The Humility and the Divine Claim.
   (*b*) The Messianic Problem and the New Fellowship.
   (*c*) Their Harmony in the Traditional Impression.
5. Reflection and Experience.
6. Von Soden on the Fourth Gospel.

Note 1

The Chronological Relation of the Jerusalem and the Galilean Ministries [1]

Dr. Holland sometimes uses language which seems to imply the view that the Jerusalem ministry as a whole preceded the Galilean ministry as a whole. This would be inconsistent with his acceptance of the Johannine chronology as correct. If the Johannine chronology be correct, the order of time must be—(1) The ministry in Jerusalem and Judæa of chapters i.–iii. of the Fourth Gospel; (2) the Galilean ministry of the Synoptics up to

[1] See p. 27.

the feeding of the five thousand, with the visit to Jerusalem of St. John v. occurring at some point in the story; (3) the feeding of the five thousand; (4) the rest of the Synoptic story up to the final entry into Jerusalem, with the two visits to Jerusalem of St. John vii. and viii. and St. John ix. and x. occurring somewhere during their story. That this was the view which Dr. Holland actually held is shown by the following quotation from his own Lecture Notes:

"He has begun before they begin—in Jerusalem. He goes on at every point where our Lord did leave Galilee and get back to Jerusalem and Judæa. There were such times. Cp. Luke's confusion. 'In the way going up to Jerusalem'—continually backwards and forwards." What his language really means, when he speaks of the Jerusalem ministry preceding the Galilean, is simply that the issue of the Jerusalem ministry was already decided before the Galilean ministry began, i.e. that it was already decided in His own mind by the visit of St. John i.–iii. And this is all that his argument requires. Elsewhere he says, "He takes up the broken fragments of intercourse which only served to hasten the collision." He also speaks loosely of the Galilean ministry lasting only one year, whereas, on the above theory of the relation between the two ministries it must have lasted more than one year, though less than two. No doubt if the Synoptic story of the ministry stood by itself, it *might* not have extended beyond one year.

Note 2

The Philosophy of Belief and Unbelief [1]

Belief is coming to Christ, response to the coming Word—a living, organic act, worked out on the plane of history, through the given conditions, under pressure of challenge, allowing for human freedom, revealing Divine determination. We must follow the process in order to understand the results.

"As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become children of God." The story is to illustrate that law. That text sums up the primary significance of the story.

They received, of their own initiative, obeying their own natural development, only to find that a Power beyond themselves had been begetting them. Not of the will of the Flesh, but of God, "The Word."

Cp. "Ye have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you."

But the writer, interested in this as he is, is ever looking through—deeper. (1) Why do some go to the one side, and others to the other? The coming of the Lord acts as a sword to cleave. It divides man from man. More and more as it went on it split them into two camps. How? Why? It cannot be arbitrary. It cannot be accidental. (2) He is anxious to justify God's honour, and to

[1] The following note is put together from some fragmentary lecture notes of Dr. Holland's which appear to belong to the year 1912. See pp. 87 ff.

interpret his Master's Purpose. The Purpose cannot be Division—cannot be for condemnation. He does not come in order to force men to make a wrong decision. Yet it happens through His coming. Men are "worsened," i.e. driven down as well as up. An uncomfortable issue this.

The writer takes great pains over these two points, both in words of his own, and in all he can recollect and perhaps expand of the words of his Master.

Cp. iii. 16: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have eternal life."

"He that doeth the truth cometh to the light that his works may be made manifest that they have been wrought in God" (21).

"He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life: but he that obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him" (36).

The line of his solution is as follows: (1) The cleavage is moral, due to the antecedent ethical condition of the man, before the Coming of the Lord. The Coming forces a decision, and the decision springs out of the character the man brings with him. It is therefore a Revelation, a Judgment.

(2) The "Coming is solely directed to saving men, to bringing them light." But it cannot arrive without inviting a choice. There are those whose works belong to the dark—and cannot bear the light. Therefore they pass condemnation on

themselves, for they are condemned for not having been true to Moses, to Abraham—not for not believing in Christ. That had only proved that they had not been true to Moses, to Abraham.

The nature of the moral qualification or disqualification for belief appears in the following:

The Pressure of the Transcendent is felt through the Immanent. You have got to assume at every point of the visible, in order to account for its visibility, the actuality of that which nevertheless you have never seen, "The Father."

Start there. There is nothing which is not His. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of Himself but what He seeth the Father do. I can of My own self do nothing." "As I hear I judge." "If I bear witness of Myself My witness is not true." "My doctrine is not Mine." He can do nothing. He has no message of His own, no Name of His own to assert, no glory of His own to win. Therefore no will of His own, no desire of His own. "I seek not My own will, but the will of Him that sent Me," "As I hear I judge." He accepts, reports the verdict of Another. It is sheer, subordinate, surrendered obedience, entire annulling, inanition of personal self-assertion.

And just because of this, according to the measure of it, the whole authority of the Father passes into Him, the whole final judgment is His, the whole ultimate act is His. There is nothing of the Father's that is not made His. Because the Son doeth nothing of Himself, therefore, for that very reason, whatsoever He seeth the Father do these

also doeth the Son likewise. The whole range of Almighty activity becomes His. Nothing is not His, because the Son does nothing of Himself. So "the Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son." "That all may honour the Son as they honour the Father." He that honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father. He hath given Him authority to execute judgment. His judgment is just and paramount, because it is not His own, but by not being His own, is the Father's. There is an absolute identification of the Personal Authority, Supremacy, Finality, with the law of dependence, of derivation, so that the one *is* the other; i.e. the dependence is itself the reason, measure—for the Supremacy and Authority are what necessitate the ethical character inherent in the Sonship. He is authoritative because He is Son, because He holds Himself in an attitude of Receiver, seeking nothing of His own. So alone does the Power flow in. This moral temperament is involved in the very existence of Sonship. So alone He makes His appeal. "He that heareth My word and believeth on Him that sent Me." To believe Him is to become aware of the Father behind and beyond Him. To believe in His word is to recognise Him as Commissioned, as Sent.

No man can believe unless he is drawn of the Father. Belief is capacity to yield to the drawing from beyond the seen, to be susceptible to the Hidden Father. There is the Double Voice, the Double Witness (viii. 14, 16), the Father calling through the Son, belief in the Son always going beyond the

Son; it is the response to the something other than the Son made manifest in and through the Son. "The works which My Father hath given Me to finish, these bear witness of Me that the Father hath sent Me." Faith in the Son's works is always faith in that witness (borne through the works) of the Father to the Son. So belief, faith, always involves some recognition, however faint, of the relationship of the Son to the Father.

There must be in the believers likeness of temper, sympathetic appreciation. His motives must be intelligible to the believers. They must be able to enter into His own motive in coming.

What is its innermost note?

(1) Mission, Commission, to be sent by Another, in Another's service, for Another's glory, in Another's Name. He is "sent," to discharge a task set Him. He lives for Another, draws on Another, derives from Another, has no will of His own, makes no assertion of His own, has no meaning in Himself, claims nothing on His own account. His entire Being runs back behind Himself. He is interpreted from beyond, surrendered, dedicated, committed, nothing in Him is outside this derived existence. So His is a life lived to reveal Another. It has no other purpose. Life *is* obedience to a commandment, a sheer exhibition of selfless love.

Cp. viii. 29: "He that sent Me is with Me; He hath not left Me alone; for I do always the things that are pleasing to Him."

"I speak the things which I have seen with My Father" (38).

"It is My Father that glorifieth Me" (54).

"The works that I do in My Father's Name" (x. 25).

"That ye may know and understand that the Father is in Me and I in the Father" (38).

Love and obedience are one act, one ethical spiritual condition.

(2) Only those can recognise and believe who can understand such a life, i.e. who themselves have a life of this character, i.e. not their own, but derived—a life of faith. "Faith" is that which, as it lives, draws its life from elsewhere, has no life in itself, no virtue of its own, lays itself in another's hands and will, finds its one capacity for living in that other. "Thy faith hath saved thee."

Such *faith* would understand Him "who was sent," because the ethical qualities inherent in faith are just those which He displays as "sent." I.e. the pivot, the force of your own life is outside you. Faith and the Sonship are alike, congenial, He and it live not in their own *Name*, have nothing of their own. Nothing but faith could detect this. And faith can only do it because it can enter into the Secret. This it can only do by moral temperamental sympathy with the nature of the witness, and of the evidences given to it. It can only know how and why the Son claims paramount authority over it, according to the measure with which it can appreciate the motives by which the Paramountcy has become His.

I.e. only selflessness can recognise the supreme instance of selflessness, i.e. can believe. Apart

from such a temper, no faith can enter into the secret.

Cp. v. 43 ff. : " I am come in My Father's Name and ye receive Me not. If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive. How can ye believe which receive glory one of another ? "

The " Sent " temper, then, is ethical, unselfish, surrendered, open to influence and power from out of the Beyond, aware of incompleteness, susceptible to the call of Another, seeking the honour which can never come out of self-regard, but cometh from God only. Faith is the recognition that the extreme and absolute claim of the Son is the sign of His utter humility. This ethical affinity is already in existence, in order to account for belief. Belief is only its spontaneous evidence. The Presence of the Son serves to evoke it, so the sifting is a moral judgment on what has come about in the past of the believer. The judgment is passed on what has already happened. Therefore he that believeth not is condemned, not for not believing ; but by being in the moral condition which prohibits belief he has already condemned himself (ch. iii. 18 ff.). Belief follows inevitably on what has been going on before. To love light is to recognise and run to light when it arrives. Belief follows on moral desire for light. Repudiation, dislike, hatred of light mean incompatibility with light, and therefore evil deeds which suit and need the dark. The law is stated absolutely.

(3) So we understand the terrible summing up (xii. 36–end), the judicial blindness which follows

on the refusal of the light. "They could not believe," owing to the strange hardening, a psychological necessity, not an arbitrary imposition. For it simply follows from the fact that they loved the praise of man more than the praise of God.

Back to the Father still both belief and unbelief point; the whole secret lies there, in the primal relationship, true or untrue. Here is the test. He is entirely dependent on the Father. They recognise only by being dependent on the Father. They are "given of the Father," hear His voice. They are true to that giving, i.e. ethically responsive, sensitive, loyal. Unbelief is disloyalty to the Father, disloyalty to the Gift, to the drawing. False relationship to the Father blinds to the Son. "Ye cannot hear My voice." "Ye are not My sheep." "If God were your Father . . ."

And this explains both His supreme authority and power and their infinite vitality who believe. For by so living, not in their own name, or by virtue of their own force, both He and they become more and more themselves, more and more alive. For since the very nature of their life lies in its dependence, in its derivation, in its subordination, therefore its own inherent vitality increases according to the depth of its dependence. By being nothing of itself it can therefore "do all things." For its own emptiness sets it absolutely free to become the living organ and expression of the life poured in from beyond. So it is more and more in evidence and in actuality the more complete

its self-surrender. (The antithesis to Hindoo absorption.)

"Thy faith hath saved thee."

"All things that the Father hath are Mine."

The surrendered *Recipient* is raised into pre-eminent self-activity.

Cp. "He who drinketh of this water, out of him shall flow . . ." The very act of *taking in* constitutes the man an energetic source of outpouring force.

This is Faith. This is Sonship. Both are what they are, do what they do, solely by virtue of a spiritual act of self-abandonment to Another, which is essentially ethical in character. Therefore His Sonship and their Faith fall together. Both illustrate a like temperament. Both realise the same order of motives.

Cp. v. 17: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."

This is the cardinal ground, elemental, ultimate. Every act of His own recurs back behind Him; it can only be interpreted in the light of that other, whom it reports, reflects, the Father. The key of the whole position is the Father. His own life on earth is an absolutely unintelligible phenomenon taken by itself alone. It cannot be self-explained. In itself it is meaningless. Whenever it puzzles, requires explanation, you must go beyond it to discover why. This "work" on the Sabbath Day—it is no good to take it as it stands. Its solution is that it is the Father's work. This is continuous, weekday and Sabbath alike. And in

the continuity of the Father's creative activity lies the justification of all the Son has done before their eyes.

"The Father." The Transcendent Background. "The Beyond." "No man hath seen Him." Yet only by reference to Him is this visible life capable of interpretation.

This is what makes it the Gospel of the Fatherhood.[1]

The Final Key is here (xvii. 4–6): "I glorified Thee on earth, having accomplished the work which Thou gavest Me to do. And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was. I manifested Thy Name unto the men whom Thou gavest Me out of the world: Thine they were, and Thou gavest them unto Me." That is the heart of the whole book.

Cp. xvi. 27, 28: "The Father Himself loveth you, because ye have loved Me, and have believed that I came forth from the Father. I came out from the Father and am come into the world: again I leave the world and go unto the Father."

This secret of belief is the secret of all that comes out of belief: growth, fruit, glory.

[1] And there is the Counter-Fatherhood. The secret source of the human action in the foreground may be—"Ye are of your father the devil." All the varied play gathers itself up into a manifestation of two origins, two antagonistic forces, countering each other through the human material. Yet the man is free, i.e. free to be of either Fatherhood. So there is the inward and outward drama, the mystery in the background, the hidden springs of action.

The glory lies in action : " Herein is your Father glorified, that ye bear fruit " : " Pruning is to bring forth more fruit."

" Faith " *is* " works," *is* moral activity, moral service, because of its very nature. Faith is verification of the " Father's " originating action. The Father gave to the Son. This is primal, prevenient, initiative. Everything presupposes this. Everything that happens is a proof that this has already happened. " The gift " accounts for all the issue. Belief is possible only on the basis of this gift. Belief is the discovery of the believer that he has been given by the Father to the Son. In His act of belief Father and Son meet. The Son gathers what the Father has given. Belief is the response that He evokes in the Given. He moves in obedience to the Father's will in giving. Whenever that will is allowed to get to work, the Son recognises, meets, consummates. For this He is sent.

Cp. " Authority over all flesh, that, whatsoever Thou hast given Him, to them He should give Eternal Life."

In doing this He " glorifies " the Father—accomplishes the work given Him to do. This is the true issue, the true Law of all who come. It is not partial, not selective, but universal. " Authority over all flesh." All men are under the gift. If every man ever born came and believed it would still be true that he only comes through the Father's drawing, the Father's gift.

The Son manifested the Father ! But not in all men did the gift avail, prevail, do its proper

work; only some, only a few, them whom Thou gavest, them in whom the gift took effect.

He concentrates on them. "I pray not for the world, but for them whom Thou gavest Me out of the world." Yes! But He concentrates on them, in order to convince the world through them—"that the world may know that Thou lovedst them as Thou hast loved Me."

Belief is recognition of the gift of God to Christ —to be one with Him as He with the Father. "Gift" is an act of will, of energy, so inevitably shows itself in action. The "Given," who discovers the operative power of the gift, by believing in the Son Sent, makes manifest the gift, glorifies the Father. This they do by "knowing His Name" and "keeping His Word," i.e. by obedience to His commandments, by faith in the Gift. Belief is admittance into the mind of the Father through the Son, the Purpose, the Sending. There is a reason for their being given: it is that they too may be "sent": sent to the world, to manifest the Name, to make God's meaning clear, to offer convincing proof of His giving, to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and judgment, to show out the operation of the Spirit, to bear fruit.

To do this, in the form of love for one another, as included in the unity of one gift. "I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be one, even as We are One; that the world may know that Thou lovedst them even as Thou lovedst Me, that the love wherewith Thou lovedst Me may be in them, and I in them." Love, unity, joy, fellowship,

show themselves in action, visible, irresistible, giving, convincing, manifesting, glorifying. There is no stopping anywhere.

And, to intensify this active energy of love manifested to the world, there must be discipline—"Sanctify them through Thy Truth. Thy word is truth"—there must be careful, intelligent, conscious, rational, real obedience, under control, by self-direction, deliberate, sacrificial. Love is *obedience*, Faith is the Moral Law, (1) because the Son is sent to do the will, in evidence of love; (2) because the believers are "given" for a Purpose, to manifest the *Name*, in evidence of unity in love. The Son's love is expressed in obedience to vocation. The believer's love is expressed by realisation of the Purpose in the gift. Work and obedience, therefore, are the very life of faith.

Yet faith and love are only the temper, the method, which releases the energy of work. I.e. the *working energy* operates from behind and within. It is the force of the Divine Giving, pressing forward towards the Son. Faith allows it freedom to act. Faith does not do the work, but becomes the medium and channel through which the force goes forward and liberates its will. So the ideal in the Branch and Vine is "Abide in Me." Faith clings on, adheres, inheres, surrenders, yields, commits itself. And, so surrendered, the Vine does the work through it. The Vine bears the fruit, the Branch merely abides. Cf. the Pauline "I live: yet not I, Christ liveth in Me." The Branch lives, bears fruit, yet not in itself; only as the instrument and organ

and function of the Vine. No fruit issues out of the strength of the Branch, but out of the deep-lying, hidden resources at the back of the Vine.

As Christ can do nothing of Himself, so believers can do nothing of themselves, only by abiding. Faith is entirely occupied, summed up in the effort to abide. Yet so to abide is, of sheer necessity, to let the sap run through, to become energised, to bear fruit. "Works" are always a paradox. Cp. "Work out your salvation, for it is God that worketh in you." The degree of the self-surrender, self-nothingness, is the measure of the active efficiency: the more empty of self, the more filled with God.

Faith is an active energy of adherence, because behind it, in it, the act of God is Giving. You never come to an act of man that does not rest upon a prevenient act of God. But, in the power of that prevenient act, man himself becomes active. Cp. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on Me, the works that I do, he shall do also; and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto the Father." "Whatsoever ye shall ask in My Name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son."

"If ye love Me, keep My commandments." The effect in them all proceeds out of the mystery behind them. The works that they are to do are done by Him through them. They allow, invite, pray, ask. They hold themselves open. They love, and, loving, obey. They are true to His Name. They respond to His Mind. They become

fit channels, they are kept in touch, they lie within the strict demands of His commandments. They correspond exactly with His intention, they reflect His judgment. They "obey" His law, out of sheer love for Him, out of mere desire for His fellowship.

And, in consequence, He makes Himself manifest through them. And what He manifests through them is the Will of the Father for their sakes. So is the Father glorified. Seeing the good work, men recognise God as the Doer, and glorify the Father which is in heaven. To do the things commanded is the sign not of a slave, but of a friend (cp. xv. 15). It is the sign of an understanding, sympathetic, intelligent loyalty. "Ye are My friends, if ye do the things that I command you." His own obedience to the Father is absolute and entire, because it is the instinct of a loyal, loving, intelligent Son.

The resultant fruit will never be due to their own direct choice of Him, but of His choice of them. They simply suffer His choice of them, that they should bear fruit, get to work. They do not prevent its producing its proper results through them. Faith *is* works.

Behind, within is the true secret, the impulse, the momentum, the *Impelling Power*, released by human faithfulness, by innocence, by loyalty, by love of Light, the Father's will, gift, desire, the Spirit's work. The Son's acceptance of the Father's will issuing in choice of those given by His Father: "I have chosen you." This emerges, pushing

through the human circumstance. The Son, the full, active force of the Father, works out through them into fruit. Their ethical relationship to the Son repeats and reiterates His to the Father.

Cp. xiv., xv., xvii. The amazing Discourses gather it all in.

Note 3

Omissions from the Fourth Gospel [1]

Dr. Holland does not deal with the alleged difficulty of "omissions" from the Fourth Gospel of important incidents in the Synoptic story. On Dr. Holland's theory that the author assumes the Synoptic story the problem is rather to account for his even inserting any incident of the Synoptic story. For some of the "omissions" reasons have been found (e.g. by Scott, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 42) in the author's "dislike" for this or that incident. Some of these reasons Dr. Holland criticised in his lectures: e.g. in the record of the Last Supper the δεῖπνον of ch. xiii. is plainly the supper of the Synoptists. Why does he omit the institution of the Eucharist? The supposed motive is avoidance of the sacramental ordinance. But it is admitted that in ch. vi. he deals with the sacramental idea, the dependence of the inward on the outward. This is not only consonant with the writer's own thought, but his dwelling on it in this connection is difficult to reconcile with the supposed dislike. Again, in the case of the Agony in Gethsemane, he is

[1] See p. 104.

supposed to omit the struggle because he dislikes it. But xii. 27 describes the inward struggle of a soul divided between shrinking from the passion and the counter-desire to fulfil the will of God.

If "dislike" of the incidents omitted were the motive of omission, why should the "Transfiguration" be omitted?

Note 4

On the Relation of the Johannine and the Galilean Presentations [1]

The three passages which follow, from Dr. Holland's lecture notes and from an address on the Fourth Gospel, bear upon the differences and the harmony of the two presentations:

(*a*) *The Combination of the Humility and the Divine Claim.*—"The problem of the presentation of the Person of our Lord lies in a presentation of One who is making infinite personal claims, absorbing attention on Himself, and yet retaining somehow the impression of One who is above all things meek and humble at heart, and who leaves a sense of humility and meekness which is never lost, even at the moments when His self-assertion is most pronounced. This is what we all feel in the representation of the character of our Lord in the first three Gospels, but here in the Fourth Gospel it is the more astonishing, because we find here a still more violent form of self-assertion, and yet through-

[1] See p. 131.

out there is aways the sense that He was meek and humble and gentle." [1]

(*b*) *The Messianic Problem and the New Fellowship.*—At Jerusalem we have a different presentation of Himself, deeper and more obviously Messianic problems, the secret of the offer made to "His own," and the rejection—His own received it not.

All this is in contrast with—in Galilee—the building of the new Fellowship from its elements.

The direct presentation of Himself as Messiah at Jerusalem is natural even though at an earlier date.

(*c*) *Their Harmony in the Traditional Impression.*—Between the Synoptic presentation and the presentation in the Fourth Gospel there is both likeness and difference. Observe how, in spite of the striking differences, the likeness, the harmony of the two conceptions has asserted itself in the compact tradition. The tradition holds in itself both the Synoptic and the Johannine presentation. The two complete each other and fall into line, so as to convey a single central impression. And the central impression requires St. John. It is an impression that goes beyond the Synoptic picture —the impression that Jesus left, the impression that told, that is felt in the Christian faith, e.g. in the Epistles. The impression left of what He had been is largely dependent on St. John. The

[1] Notes of an Address (1906) on "Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the other Three." Cp. esp. ch. iii., and cp. previous Note on Belief and Unbelief.

Fourth Gospel is needed to account for the impression left. It is essential to the whole historic impression of the Unique Figure, Jesus Christ.

Note 5

On the Relation of Reflection to Experience [1]

Can a man fully report his experience without reflection? Need his reflection blur and spoil the experience? May it not better his report? Must it not be essential to an adequate report? Are not the reflective faculties open to inspiration as the rest? Are they not part of ourselves?

Note 6

Von Soden on the Fourth Gospel [2]

It is the failure to recognise the working of the Jewish type of idealism which leads the critics into such hopeless self-contradictions. E.g. Von Soden says of the Fourth Gospel that "it was not intended to be a work of history." Yet he gives a long list of minute historical details which are given in the Fourth Gospel alone. Why these details, if he is not interested in history? They have no allegorical or mystical significance.

The idealism of the author naturally finds expression in noting exact historical minutiæ. And the intensity of his spiritual vision gives illuminating

[1] See p. 131.

[2] This note is in part an abstract and in part a transcription of the dictated first draft of a criticism of the section on the Fourth Gospel in Von Soden's *History of Early Christian Literature.*

interest to the tiniest historical fact. The deeper the vision the more literal and exact becomes the history.

What reasons does Von Soden give for his contention that the author has no belief in history?

He incorporates only the smallest portion of the Synoptic tradition—but Von Soden allows that the Evangelist does not profess to be exhaustive. He selects what he wants for his own purpose. He assumes that the reader is in possession of the ordinary tradition.

(*a*) The Synoptic facts as to the ministry and fate of the Baptist are not related—but they are presupposed, it is enough to refer to them.

(*b*) He refers to the Twelve (vi. 67, 70) without saying who they were or how they were called—so Von Soden notices.

(*c*) He presupposes the public Galilean ministry (vi. 1). This does not imply a want of interest in history. He has no occasion to use it, but he lets us know that it is there. He does explain (vii. 1) why He is in Galilee, viz. for fear of the Jews. And (iv. 43, etc.), with fourfold repetition, he dwells on the point at which He left Judæa for Galilee, because His prominence in Judæa had become perilous.

(*d*) Von Soden complains of the isolation of the reference to Capernaum (ii. 12). It is a pregnant instance of his delight in fact that he should record the first migration to Capernaum, the traditional home of the ministry, where we find Him again in ch. vi.

(*e*) It is objected that he takes up incidents and persons, and drops them again when they have served his purpose. But the purpose exhibits itself by means of the incidents and persons. The Nicodemus story, e.g., belongs to the situation of the moment, and the discourse is rooted in the occasion, however it may be expanded. And as a matter of fact Nicodemus is *not* dropped: his further progress is noted. The Greeks, again, appear suddenly (xii. 20). But it is the bewildering suddenness of their appearance which is the fact to be noted. After-experience has brought out its significance.

(*f*) Von Soden declares that our Lord's miracles in this Gospel are only types of spiritual truth. But the story turns round them. Their spiritual value intensifies the interest in the details, e.g. in the healing of the blind man, and in the raising of Lazarus.

As to the latter, Von Soden actually asserts the absence of compassion, though the story records the most vehement emotion of pity.[1]

(*g*) Von Soden says the Baptism is omitted as insignificant, but the cry of the Baptist (ch. i.) has no meaning except as recalling it.

(*h*) Von Soden says there is no Temptation, no Gethsemane; but the trouble of soul in ch. xii. exactly repeats the struggle of the Agony, and

[1] Elsewhere Dr. Holland dealt with the question of the motives to the doing of the miracles. An action does not necessarily proceed from a single motive. He referred to the illustration of the operating surgeon, who lets his pupils benefit by witnessing the operation.

again in ch. xiii. there is the trouble of soul at the presence of the traitor.

(*i*) Von Soden's last proof that the author has no historic sense of the main lines of our Lord's life is the fact that, in the Synoptics, our Lord's mission lies in Galilee, and the journey to Jerusalem forms the crisis leading up to the final act, while, in our Gospel, Jerusalem is the proper scene of action and Galilee is the place of retreat.

Of course this point is entirely reversed, if once we are convinced that our Gospel is historically right in explaining why the time in Galilee is a retreat, and in making the centre of our Lord's work at Jerusalem. We argue that this, historically, is exactly the view that makes the other Gospels intelligible ; and that, on purely historical grounds, it is the Fourth Gospel account which gives consistency to the Synoptics.

Von Soden declares that the Jesus of this Gospel cannot weep over Jerusalem : He cannot be likened to the hen which gathereth her chickens under her wings : He has only hard words for the Jews, His own people. And he asks how, if the author were John the son of Zebedee, he could show himself so wanting in affection towards his countrymen, to whom his Lord devoted His Life.

And yet this is the Gospel which concentrates the entire interest of the drama at Jerusalem. This is the Gospel that shows us, as the other three fail to do, what it really was that lay behind our Lord's cry over lost Jerusalem. This is the Gospel that tells us, as the others do not, how and when He had

made those repeated attempts to gather those chickens under His wings. If the author has no tenderness for Jerusalem and for his people, it is through no lack of feeling: it is the passionate vehemence of the patriot, who can never forget how the city of the Divine choice had betrayed its hope. For himself the burden of the whole story which he has to tell sings itself out in the piteous refrain, "He came unto His own, and His own received Him not." It is because He feels the full, tragic force of this, the great historic refusal, that, for him, the city of his love has become that city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt. And the fervour of his shattered patriotism is to be measured by the passion with which he looks for the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a Bride adorned for her husband, and having the glory of God. It is through recognising the personal passion that lies behind the references in the Gospel to Jerusalem and the Jews, that we become aware of the reality of historical fact for our author.

He appeals to prophecy, just as all Jews would, to carry him through a perplexity that would be otherwise intolerable. That is why he is unable to account for so disastrous a spiritual betrayal, except by recognising that, in some strange manner, the purpose of God, disclosed of old to the prophets, had anticipated a moral blunder that would otherwise seem incredible. Just as our Lord relieved the horror that He knew would be felt at the betrayal of Judas, simply by telling His disciples that

He had foretold it, and that it could not therefore be a mere blind disaster, so our author relieves the strain in his own Jewish heart by recalling the saying of Esaias which had asked, "Lord, who hath believed our report?" The moral doom was on his people, though they themselves had made it inevitable, and that inevitability the prophet had foreseen. "Therefore they could not believe because that Esaias had said again, He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts. These things said Esaias when he saw His glory and spake of Him." The man who is so absorbed in the drama of this rejection, and who is so profoundly concerned with tracing the moral motives that led to it, and who interests himself in gathering it up into the supreme will and purpose of God, has himself been inside it, and has felt the sting of its despair and the misery of the doom sealed upon the fated city.

Von Soden writes that "the interest of pure history did not exist among the writers of this age, certainly not among the writers of the East. History is the daughter of poetry: before men wrote history they composed legends and myths." Quite true, but the one noticeable thing is that this odd race, the Jewish, is distinguished from all other nations of the earth by its recognition of Revelation through History. The Jew fastened his eyes on history, believing that in and through the facts themselves he could detect what God was doing with him. This is exactly what makes him remarkable among the people of the East. He started with legend

and myth, as they did, but he pares these down. He makes even these take as historical a shape as possible. He reduces mythic gods and goddesses to men and women, and more and more he strips his sacred books of these mythic elements, and pins himself down to the history as such. In his great prophetical period he has got himself clear of mythical obscurities, and is in direct and immediate touch with historic realities. We are much employed in discovering the place of legend in the Old Testament, but after all the significant thing is that there is so little, and not so much, of legendary matter, and that as the books advance it is more and more successfully purged away. The Jew is signalised by this cardinal characteristic, that he looked for God in the actual events through which, as a nation, he passed; and he did this because he looked for God in action rather than in thought, and demanded of God a manifestation here on earth of a visible and historical kingdom, and believed in the Divine choice, which fixed on a sacred spot and would reveal itself through the living acts of a people who had a continuous story, and a Divine Law controlling their every act and deed. The Jew preached the Divine value of historical fact as such, and every writer in the New Testament possesses this mind, and looks to fact as the material of Divine Manifestation. It is absurd to appeal to the typical habits of Eastern nations, when dealing with a people whose special wonder is that they did not conform to the Eastern type.

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY
HAWARDEN.

HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND

MEMOIR AND LETTERS

EDITED BY STEPHEN PAGET

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS 16*s.* NET

"Mr. Stephen Paget has edited this memoir and arranged the letters with exceptional skill; . . . he has a true gift of selection. There is not a page that does not add a lineament to the features of Scott Holland as the reader sees him."—*Spectator.*

"It is a book from which the reader will rise glad and refreshed, because it fulfils the purpose of making known to those who never knew him or knew him only slightly, here, a great man, a great teacher, a great prophet who was also a great Christian, and a Catholic Christian, to the finest fibre of his being."—*Church Times.*

"Mr. Stephen Paget is an ideal biographer for Scott Holland. The work could not have been better done."—*Daily Telegraph.*

"If only for the letters, the Life was well worth doing, but Mr. Paget's work is that of the born biographer."—*Christian World.*

"Never did letters more completely reflect the writer than those here printed. To read them is to hear again the familiar voice, the well-remembered laugh, to recall the gesture of pained indignation which would have emphasised this sentence, the genial twinkle which would assuredly have accompanied the other."—*Challenge.*

JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street, LONDON, W.1

Recent Theological Books

BELIEF IN GOD

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BELIEF, I. By CHARLES GORE, D.D., Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; formerly Bishop of Oxford. 10th Impression. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

'It remains that Dr. Gore is unquestionably the leading figure in the Church of England to-day. A study of his work to-day will be of the greatest value . . . He helps us to see things as they really are.'—*Church Times.*

CREEDS OR NO CREEDS?

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE BASIS OF MODERNISM. By the Rev. CHARLES HARRIS, D.D. With Forewords by the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Lichfield and the Warden of Wadham College, Oxford. 15*s.* net.

'A vast amount of learning is given most readable expression. Dr. Harris's versatility is almost incredible.'—*Guardian.*

THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

ESSAYS FOR THE USE OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS, WRITTEN AT THE INSTANCE OF THE CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE SOCIETY. By VARIOUS AUTHORS. Edited, with an Introduction, by the Rev. C. F. NOLLOTH, M.A. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

'Few books so adequately fulfil their professed design as does this. We cannot see how the thing could be better done—and they are written by men of ample scholarship . . . We feel that no word of recommendation could be too strong.'—*Sunday School Chronicle.*

FAITH, BELIEF, AND PROOF

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE SCIENCE OF NATURAL THEOLOGY. By the Rev. J. H. BEIBITZ. With an Introduction by the Rt. Rev. BISHOP GORE, D.D. 6*s.* net.

'It is an admirable summary of the arguments in favour of Theism. The author knows his subject, writes clearly and with great fairness . . . a book which will assuredly help many searchers for truth to discover the eternal realities for which they are looking.'—*Church Family Newspaper.*

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY

Recent Theological Books

SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S DANIEL AND THE APOCALYPSE

WITH A STUDY OF THE NATURE & CAUSE OF UNBELIEF. By Sir WILLIAM WHITLA, M.D., M.A. 15*s.* net.

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF JESUS CHRIST

By the Rev. A. C. HEADLAM, D.D. This volume is an attempt to study the life of Christ in relation to Modern Criticism and our knowledge of the social, political and intellectual surroundings of the time. [*Ready Early* 1923.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

By the Rev. J. E. SYMES, M.A., sometime Principal of University College, Nottingham; author of 'Broad Church,' etc. 18*s.* net.

'It is the sanest and most readable introduction to the New Testament that has appeared since Dr. Salmon published his lectures. Those who master its contents will be abreast of the best conclusions of modern scholarship.'—*Record.*

CANON BARNETT:

HIS LIFE, WORK, AND FRIENDS. By his WIFE. Complete in One Volume. With 16 Illustrations. Cheaper and Unabridged Edition. 6*s.* net. Also in 2 Vols. 28*s.* net.

'It is the record of the life-work not of one but of two who laboured as one, with a rare unity of soul and mind.'—*Church Times.*

THE CHURCH IN MADRAS

BEING THE HISTORY OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND MISSIONARY ACTION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN THE PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS. By the Rev. FRANK PENNY. Vol. III—1835–1860. With Illustrations. 21*s.* net.

This volume completes the story of the East India Company's ecclesiastical affairs, and obliges a complete change of opinion as to the ecclesiastical policy and action of the Company.

PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED—Vol. I, 17th and 18th Centuries. With Illustrations. 10*s.* 6*d.* net. Vol. II, 1805–1835. With Illustrations. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

STANDARD WORKS FROM MR. JOHN MURRAY'S THEOLOGICAL LIST

DUCHESNE, Monsignor L.,

De l'Académie Française; Hon. D.Litt. Oxford, and Litt.D. Cambridge.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH. From its Foundation to the End of the Fifth Century. Rendered into English from the Fourth Edition.

VOL. I. To End of Third Century. Demy 8vo, 12*s.* net.
VOL. II. The Fourth Century. Demy 8vo, 15*s.* net.
VOL. III. The Fifth Century. Demy 8vo, 21*s.* net.

ERNLE, Lord (R. E. Prothero).

THE PSALMS IN HUMAN LIFE. Enlarged Edition. Large Crown 8vo, 6*s.* net. New Pocket Edition. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

FOX, Selina Fitzherbert, M.D, B.S.

A CHAIN OF PRAYER ACROSS THE AGES. Forty Centuries of Prayer—2000 B.C. to A.D. 1920. Arranged for Daily Use, with Index of Subjects and Authors. 5*s.* net.

HARRIS, Rev. Charles, D.D.,

Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Llandaff.

PRO FIDE. A Defence of Natural and Revealed Religion. A Text-book of Modern Apologetics for Students and Others. Second Edition. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

HEADLAM, the Rev. A. C., M.A., D.D.,

Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN REUNION. The Bampton Lectures, 1920. 2nd Edition, with a New Preface. 12*s.* net.

INGE, the Very Rev. William Ralph, D.D.,

Dean of St. Paul's.

TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD IN RELIGION. Six Lectures delivered at Cambridge to Undergraduates in the Lent Term, 1906. 6*s.* net.

STUDIES OF ENGLISH MYSTICS. The St. Margaret's Lectures. Fourth Series, 1905. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

JULIAN, the Rev. John, D.D.,

Late Vicar of Topcliffe, Prebendary of Fenton, Canon of York.

A DICTIONARY OF HYMNOLOGY. Setting forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations. Second Edition with New Supplement. 32*s.* net.

'The student of hymnology will find the work, as it always has been, a rare mine of information.'—*Westminster Gazette.*

STANDARD WORKS FROM MR. JOHN MURRAY'S THEOLOGICAL LIST

MENZIES, the Rev. Allan, D.D.,

Late Professor of Biblical Criticism, University of St. Andrews.

HISTORY OF RELIGION. A Sketch of Primitive Beliefs and Practices, and of the Origin and Character of the Great Systems. Third Edition. 6*s.* net.

MURRAY'S DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY AND LITERATURE,

To the end of the Sixth Century, with an account of the Principal Sects and Heresies. Edited by the Very Rev. HENRY WACE, D.D., and the Rev. WM. C. PIERCY. Complete in one Volume. 25*s.* net.

MURRAY'S ILLUSTRATED BIBLE DICTIONARY.

Combining Modern Research with Ancient Faith. Editor: The Rev. WILLIAM C. PIERCY, M.A In One Volume. *Special Features:* 1. A Volume of 1,000 pages. 2. Profusely Illustrated. 3. Special attention has been paid to Bibliography. 4. Signed Articles by Leading Scholars. 21*s.* net.

STURGE, M. Carta,

Moral Science Tripos (Cambridge).

THE TRUTH AND ERROR OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. A New and Cheap Edition (Fourth Impression). 6*s.* net.

WESTCOTT, the Right Rev. B. F., D.D., D.C.L.,

Late Bishop of Durham.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN. With Notes and Introduction. 12*s.* net.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN. The Greek Text Revised, with a Revised English Version. 2 vols. 28*s.* net.

WOLSELEY-LEWIS, M.

THE SEVENFOLD GIFTS. Instructions and Prayers for the use of Candidates for Confirmation. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

The foregoing books are selected from Mr. Murray's List of Theological Literature. This complete List will be sent, post free, on application to:—

JOHN MURRAY, 50a Albemarle Street, LONDON, W.1

CLARKE, Sir Edward, the Right Hon., P.C.

THE NEW TESTAMENT. The Authorised Version Corrected. The Text prepared by Sir Edward Clarke. Demy 8vo, 5*s.* net.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL. The Authorised Version Amended. The Text prepared by Sir Edward Clarke. Demy 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE BOOK OF PSALMS. The Prayer Book Version Corrected. The Text prepared by Sir Edward Clarke. F'cap. 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

CLARKE, the Rev. J. Langton, D.D.

THE ETERNAL SAVIOUR-JUDGE. Fresh Light and Comfort from the Holy Scriptures. With an Introduction by the Rev. J. R. ILLINGWORTH, D.D. Demy 8vo, 4*s.* net. Simplified Edition, Crown 8vo, 2*s.* net.

COHU, the Rev. J. R., M.A.

Rector of Aston Clinton, Bucks.

THE BIBLE AND MODERN THOUGHT. Demy 8vo, 16*s.* net.

COLLINS, the Right Rev. William Edward, D.D.,

Late Bishop of Gibraltar.

HOURS OF INSIGHT and other Sermons. Crown 8vo, 5*s.* net.

CONTENTIO VERITATIS.

CONTENTIO VERITATIS. Essays in Constructive Theology. By SIX OXFORD TUTORS: the Rev. H. Rashdall, D.Litt., the Very Rev. W. R. Inge, the Rev. H. L. Wild, the Rev. C. F. Burney, the Rev. W. C. Allen, the Rev. A. J. Carlyle. A Revised Edition. Demy 8vo, 6*s.* net.

CUNNINGHAM, the Venble. W., D.D., F.B.A.,

Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Ely.

CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS. The Substance of the Lowell Lectures delivered at Boston, Mass., 1914. Demy 8vo, 6*s.* net.

EFFICIENCY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Some Remarks Occasioned by the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church Finance. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

DANNATT, William,

Of Great Waltham.

THE FAITH OF A FARMER. Extracts from his Diary, edited, with an Introduction, by J. G. MONTMORENCY, M.A., LL.B. Crown 8vo, 5*s.* net.